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Introduction

Political life of post-soviet Kazakhstan undergoes a complex process of transformation and modernization. At soviet system quota conditions per elected posts of different levels was Government guaranteed in minimum 30 % of representation (the so-called “critical mass”) to women, national minorities and other socially vulnerable categories of populace. The forming of political elite was made on the basis of thorough selection, taking into consideration sex, age, education, nationality, occupation, etc. The conditions of the state paternalism in the former Soviet Union established the factor of dependence and “getting accustomed ” of women to “special” position and that became the major reason of political experience absence, leaders skills and habits, possibility to conduct political election campaigns. Though men were also recruited by party bodies, the lack of women was obvious. That is, the political process of elections in Soviet State wasn’t democratic even de-jure.

When Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991, the state was formed its own legislature system and election system as well. Quotas, guaranteeing to women political representation in power structures were eliminated. As a result during 1991 elections to the supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) women got only 26 out of 360 seats (7,2 %).

The sharp decrease of women quantity at all levels of governing structures despite the presence majority of women among specialists of secondary level lessen their role on democratization process in the society and conducting reforms in Kazakhstan. And though during the years of soviet power women occupied minor positions after coup d’ etat of the Soviet Union (the USSR) they were pushed out of governing organs even from such traditional for women sphere as social. Low women’s representation at the level of decision adoption led to political marginalization of women’s problems. The typical manifestation of women’s discrimination in poverty, women’s health became worth and demographic crisis started. The growth of violence to women was obvious and one may see social tension in the society. There is direct dependence between policy of state towards women and the degree of social stability and that means the national security of the country. That’s why working out of mechanisms which support political and social-economic stability of the state is fundamental scientific task of theoretical and applied science in RK.

During last years, especially after the Republic of Kazakhstan joining the United Nations Organization and participation of the Republic at the IV World Conference on women’s position (Beijing, 1995) based on the theme of increasing the women’s level of participation in the public life, politicians invented a new notion- “gender”. Under the international organizations pressing special state structures were created to advance women. Women’s movement started to develop intensively. However in reality the state powers simply tried “to build – in” women’s problems into already worked out plans, programs and long-termed strategies. As a rule, to women all existing social problems in the society are referred: women’s problems, disabled people, old generation and kids. The discrimination existence that is the absence of real equality in society is not fully understood because it isn’t taken into account. It’s considered that the settling of all economic problems will settle all other problems.

The United Nations Organization connects these problems with violating human beings’ rights sticking to a major principle: without full participation and allotment of women with power potential the stable decisions in society which is threatened with social and economic difficulties cannot be found. The establishing of legal society in Kazakhstan supposes practical realization of its basic principle - equality of all citizens in front of the law in all spheres of the society. In

connection with this the problem of women's rights violation must become an object of wide public and political elite attention in the country.

If the problem connected with human beings' rights in the society will be risen then the point of view of women's destination will be changed as well as her role in the society, her status which while traditional attitude is connected only with one function- "maternity for producing further generations".

Consequently, the women's right problem is the problem of creating absolutely new political culture. Thus with women's appearance in power the process of stable consolidating democratic base will be performed.

The scientific study of gender problems reflects the processes of women's international movement process and is contained in a number of feminist and gender conceptions the appearance of which is connected with such factors as: activization of liberal philosophical tradition (D. Lokk, J.J. Russo, D.S. Mill), in the frames of which such theories of mankind equality were developed: strong influence of utopian socialism (Sh. Furier, A. Sen-Simon, R. Ouen) where the notion of "feminism" was established.

Up to the middle of the XX century appeared a number of theories which emphasize the feminism essence: (Zila Eisenstein, Valery Bryson, Chris Weedon, Christine Delphy, Ethel Cline, Kate Millett, Joan Scott, Betty Friedan, bell hooks, etc.) /1/.

On post-soviet space the most significant researchers were made in the field of political gender investigations in the frames of Russia School (N. Ajgikina, Andreenkova, E. Belova, O. Voronina, E. Zdravomyslova, T.A.Rubuntseva, N.Shvedova, T.Klimenkova, E.Kochkina, O. Lipovckaya, G. Sillaste, G. Shevchuk, A.Temkina, S.Ushakin, Z.Hotkine, etc.) /2/, and also with Belorussian (E. Gapova, I. Chikalova, G. Shaton) /3/ and Ukrainian (L. Zherbkina, S. Kupriyashkina) /4/ schools.

The problem of gender equality being the subject of intensive foreign investigations is not worked out in domestic politology.

The most prominent investigations in the sphere of politics are connected with investigations made by G.Altynbekova, L.Ahmetova, B.Becturganova, M.Mekebaeyeva, A. Mukhtarova, S. Konovalov /5/. The basic researches made by R. Jalimbetova and N.Shedenova are dedicated to social-economic position of women /6/. N.Nurtazina conducted an investigation in the sphere of women's inequality historic roots in traditional Kazakh society /7/. G.Zakumbaeva published first in the history of sovereign Kazakhstan book of domestic authors on gender investigations /8/. G.Tlenchiyeva published a number of papers on women's rights and development of non-governmental organizations where specific attitude is accepted of legislative aspects of women's equality /9/. N.Ussacheva wrote a monograph in the field of cultural sources of suppressed women in different countries of different epoch /10/. A.Abikenova, G.Zakayeva, Z.Sarsenbaeva, M.Seyitova, G.Solovijeva, S.Shakirova despite scientific works on the theme of gender inequality worked out and published textbooks of gender theory and also curriculums for students of higher Institutions /11/.

But institutionalization of gender research at Kazakhstan is still in embryo condition. At the present moment only two such types of institutions are known - Institute of Social and gender research at Kazakh State women's pedagogical Institute and non-governmental organization "Almaty Centre of gender research".

The aim of the research lies in complex problem research of women's participation problem in forming and expansion of democratic Institute in Kazakhstan. The democratization of public life demands introduction of new attitudes worked by world community, gender modernization of

power in particular, gender – sensitive policy in all spheres of society activity and vital activity if society and state and also in wide propaganda of such policy advantages.

Main tasks appearing from the research aim:

- to analyze and generalize overseas and domestic experience in the sphere of gender equality political conception;
- to investigate the peculiarities of women's electoral behavior undemocratic and post totalitarian political regimes;
- to define connections between democratization of society and representation of women in power bodies;
- to find out major stages of Kazakhstani women's movement establishing;
- to find out the reason for low level women's political activity and existing barriers on the way of women into politics and possibilities of their overcoming;
- to work out mechanisms of establishing parity democracy in Kazakhstan aiming at inserting women into politics as at the state level as at the level of public opinion.

The subject of my investigation is gender factor at political Kazakhstani sphere.

- The object of my investigation are the democratic institutes in RK;
- The scientific novelty of my work:
 - that is the first domestic complex research of gender factor in representative power structures of PK. Based on this we look upon the reasons of low women's political representation and mechanisms of its growth at multileveled cross-section where the upper level is represented by the state activity in the sphere of gender politics and lower – by activity of society itself in the sphere of overcoming gender stereotypes, being dependent is also in this row.

In connection with this the scientific novelty of my investigation is the following:

- from the position of modern feminist tendencies-political ideology of women's liberation movement – the genesis of political gender equality conception is analyzed;
- found out the results of scientific researches in the sphere of woman's electorate behavior in democratic and post-totalitarian regimes;
- defined the factors of women's political representations in modern society;
- supposed author's periodization of the women's movement establishing in Kazakhstan;
- found out the reasons of low women's participation in the politics on the basis of general gender analysis of political representation and specific features of women's electorate in Kazakhstan;
- worked out legislative, institutional, organization and conceptual recommendations for establishing the gender equality in Kazakhstan.

Methodological and theoretical basis of my investigation comprises the socio-political theories, feminist conceptions and also results of overseas and domestic gender research.

During my research work we apply such methods as sociological (focus-interview, expert and mass questionnaires, content-analysis) institutional analysis, historic, logical, comparative. In my research we apply the methods of qualitative analysis of the presented in Kazakhstani society barriers in women's political career based on the results of interview conducted by the author with woman-deputies of Maslihat and the Republic of Kazakhstan Parliament. Also it was conducted with candidates into deputies participated in the election of 1999.

In my research we use gender attitude to the analyzing of public – political Kazakhstani development.

The sources of information. Large quantity of sources and literature used for writing the paper judging by its character, are original. They are grouped in the following way:

- conceptual and norm legislative the Republic of Kazakhstan Documents;
- the Republic of Kazakhstan statistic agency literature;
- data of focus - interview conducted with separate women – deputies in Parliament and Maslihats in the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- the materials of sociological investigation of political and social – economic women’s situation conducted by Sociologist association and politologists of Almaty City, women’s association of intellectual labor Central Asia agency of political research, Institute of Kazakhstani development;
- papers of interstate organizations;
- scientific monograph literature of researchers from Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, the USA, Great Britain, Norvegia and Sweden;

Periodical papers, information and articles from Internet.

From the point of view of the selected work and tasks or research the priorities are among the presence of different sources – official documents of state power and scientific publication prepared by non-governmental structures. Their complex study allows conducting the whole comparative research.

Special places are occupied by the data collected by the author of research work as a result of focus-interview with Parliament deputies and Republic of Kazakhstan Maslihats because they allow to study the problem more profoundly.

Among the diversity of sources it is necessary to emphasise the results of great number national researches in the USA – the only country having conducted questionnaires on the results of elections during 80 years, having analysed and generalised the behaviour of different populace groups at elections, women’s electorate in their number.

Practical appliance is determined by the possibility to use general statements and research results of investigation in conducting the further study or gender problems, determining the mechanisms and directions of forming sound state policy in gender relations.

Major conclusions and statements of the research may be used in working out legislative gender equality base in the Republic of Kazakhstan, special training courses on politology and sociology, gender studies and also in practice of women’s political activity.

1.1. Political Conception of Gender Equality: World and Domestic Experience.

One of the major signs of civil society ability to progress, modernization, and transition from traditional structure to contemporary is the emergence of women’s political activity different forms. This was reflected upon the arising of social groups – and may be expressed in terms of feminism – theory and practice of women’s social-political rights advocating and following this – the formation of women’s movement. (Appendix: Gender Glossary). The practice of their activity became the subject of new political research in domestic science not long ago. But in the world history this tendency is stable and possesses firm experience.

Feminism was widely spread in the western hemisphere in 80-es of XIX century and history of its development has several stages.

Stage 1 the second half of XIX century up to twenties in XX century – feminism appeared. At first its objectives were connected with fight for delegating election rights to women and the supporters of that trend were called suffragists (English suffrage – the right to vote). Suffragism appeared in England and was later spread in the USA, Germany, France, etc. For the first time in the world history women in New Zealand and Australia got the right to vote in 1893. The first

country, which presented women not only with the right to vote but also to be elected, became Finland (1906). Later analogous processes happened in Norvegia, Denmark and in 1918-1920 in Belgium, Germany, Poland, Canada, the USA etc.

This stage was called “the early feminism” or feminism of the first wave. At scientific literature feminism of the first wave was determined as “equality feminism” and it became women’s struggle for having the same rights as men have already possessed. Women’s movement of this wave touched many countries. However, at first it was not inclined to cancel gender system and was not so widely spread among populace.

Stage 2: 60-80-es of the XX century. The period of the so-called “women in enlightenment” or “women’s liberation movement”. The peak of activity was in the USA. The country at that period was in the process of active society democratization, which was characterized by finding out different discrimination forms, women’s discrimination as well. And the latter became the second actual problem in the political processes of that period. This stage was named the second wave feminism.

The reason for feminism revival was social-economic restructurization in America and it was connected with women’s economic activity expansion. “Up to 1960 US women comprise more than 1/3 of labor resources. 54% of working women were married, 33% gave birth to kids and that testifies economic factors urging women to be engaged into social enterprise practice”/12/.

The basic feminism trait of that period was the existence of radical and extremist protest when emancipation touched the manufacturing sphere, political freedoms but social-cultural traditions as well. The extreme expression of protest became the supposition and demands connected with elimination of a number of women’s roles; marriage and maternity were in that row. Ideologically and strategically women’s movement of this period was divided into several branches: (1) liberation movement (radical feminism) and (2) movement for women’s rights (liberal and socialist feminism). The second wave of emancipation movement which stood for idea and “feminism differences” was oriented at present gender relations system change. Objective of emancipation was in changing way of thinking and acting, in estimating women’s essence and not to adapt women to men’s world. Feminist movement of this stage influenced sufficiently upon political institutions, on women’s self-consciousness and on gender system change. The essential result of women’s movement development in 60-80-s became scientific way of thinking about women’s movements as social phenomena, gender research coming into life etc. In the western scientific thought such notion as “women’s movement” started to be used in wider meaning. The subject of investigation was factor of women’s movement forming, types of this movement, women’s movement peculiarities in different countries etc.

Stage 3 – end of 80-s of the XX century – the spreading of feminism ideas in Newly Independent States where system transformation caused the processes of new public consciousness forming. These processes were very vivid in Russia. In Kazakhstan the political system transformation and social-economic changes sufficiently influenced the change in populace political culture, were a catalyst to different social layers activation, women are in this row as well. Emergency of women’s organizations, their activity and initiatives forced researchers to study such new social phenomena as women’s movement. However up to this period Kazakhstani researchers pay very little attention to this social problem especially in connection with historic and culture traditions, national peculiarities, mentality.

The term feminism was connected with necessity of marking human beings groups who proclaim not only the increasing social role of women but also the rights for woman to determine herself as an independent personality. However due to the fact that during last centuries private and

public women's role extended and underwent changes, the notion of feminism also expanded and included political, cultural, economic, sexual, racial and ethnic constituencies.

From the point of view of feminist political theory in general scientific-theoretical workouts of early feminism epoch were never subjected to analysis power relations or any political programs. But the very fact is important that even during that period the role of woman in the society was openly discussed including the existence of feminist perspectives and even then such debates were of international character.

In 1789 at the beginning of Great French revolution, Olympia de Gaje printed her "Declaration of rights for women and citizens" where she proclaimed "Every male citizen and female citizen must be equal to the law and due to this they have equal rights to all types of services and occupation, including her abilities, ... a woman has the right to be on scaffold thus she has the right to mount to the rostrum" /13/.

In the middle of XX century a set of theories appeared which emphasized the political essence of feminism. An American researcher Ethel Cline in her book "Gender politics. From consciousness to mass politics" (1984) characterized feminism as a political ideology being on the platform that males and females have equal roles in the society and she confirms that women have no support in the families, have no access to market due to discrimination in the society and not adequate attitude to this problem of social institutions /14/.

According to English sociologist Chris Weedon feminism is a policy aimed at changing the present correlation of powers between males and female in socium /15/. That is both authors confirm the political essence of feminist theory, which became ideology of women's political struggle for equal rights and liberties with men.

Russia researchers E. F. Belova and G. A. Savchuk in the article "Feminism as phenomenon of west-european civilization" (1999) emphasize that "as philosophic idea and organized public movement feminism is characteristic exclusively for west civilization. Feminism appears at that period when traditional point of view at society ... as structure, which is impossible to change, ... is changed by point of view at society being changeable reality together with which Weltanschauung of people is also changed. One starts to understand that imposed by society... values, norms and rules are the product of this society".

But feminism existed in Russia though its history and practice were under study during recent period. It obviously happened due to the reason of making a secret by Soviet leaders the very fact that idea of women liberation from double yoke appeared not in the Socialism epoch but earlier – in the research of S. Aivazova the specific traits and essence of Russian feminism in XIX century are marked by male's participation. That is the difference between Russian feminism from western. She writes: "After Great French revolution women were deprived of the rights which men had won in the process of struggle. Russia of XIX century had no bourgeois liberation neither for men nor for women. And men hand by hand with women struggled for ideas of female's education and profession as the starting point of civil rights independence for all". At the beginning of the XX century the problem of women's civil and political rights was on the agenda. The First All-Russia women's congress in 1908 for the first time discussed a question concerning equal election rights for both sex /17/.

About women's yoke in traditional Kazakhstani society in pre-socialistic period N. Nurtazina wrote and very expressively. Her research paper even at present is the only source of complex description of real women's position at that time: "Spiritual life, active participation in social sphere possibility to influence folk consciousness was impossible for women not only... due to incongruousness of her nature to the epoch spirit but also due to influence of nomad tribe which

did not get the possibility to liberate woman from terrifying burden of material production and family mode of life problems. Such disastrous position of a woman was legal due to customs and traditions and in folk's mentality" /18/. Differentiating the position of woman in western societies from the so-called "oriental obedience" of ethnic Kazakh women, heavy family labor, being actually a slave in the family and territorial diversity of nomad tribes did not give the Kazakh women possibility to unite and ponder over their own position. Thus to utter something concerning women's emancipation or political participation of ethnic Kazakh women while pre-soviet period is a taboo. May be the only exception is short-time activity of Alash Orda party which in its program on November 21, 1917 gave equal rights to all citizens of republic despite of "origin, religious confession and sex" /19/. Even earlier in the decree of all Kyrgyz Congress in Orenburg in July 21-28, 1917 was proclaimed "the equality of political rights for women and men" /20/. However even at Turgai oblast Kyrgyz Congress absolutely different decision is adopted concerning "female problem being under the jurisdiction of Muslim religion meeting according to Koran suras and Kyrgyz traditions" /21/. Drastical misunderstanding was obvious in the attitude to female problem between progressive central party leaders and its local bodies, and also disdainful men-politicians attitude to the above mentioned problem, referring it to Muslim mullas. Thus the idea of equality between men and women in Kazakhstanian society of that time was proclaimed and included into the party program, but the elimination of party and murdering of its members and homicide of leaders did not give the possibility to insert this idea into life. We suppose that at any case the greatest obstacle on the way of women's liberation would be the aggressive opposition of religious authorities if they themselves were subjected to repression from Bolsheviks. Thus history of gender equality in Kazakhstan as in other countries of the former Soviet Union started from socialist period.

Feminism as theory operates such notions as femininity, the meaning and content of which since suffragist period changed fundamentally. But these changes left hope for future, which is based on gender equality – the desire that was very seldom expressed by women of last generation. Their leaving the family frames and participating in social enterprises better educational background, the presence of contraceptives, and prolongation of life period – all this helped to change women's role in the society. These tendencies expanded the number of problems because new social obligations were simply added to family obligations and no sex division of labor occurred. Due to this women carried double burden – work and home. This complex position of women was legalized by legislative and economic social policy aimed at enforcement of traditions on women's roles.

At present according to Russia researcher T. A. Rubantseva feminism is formed like alternate philosophical conception of socio-cultural development. It existed for a long period of time as ideology of women's equality and as social-political movement. She considers these two aspects be very important for feminism because theoretics of feminism trying to find answers of these questions concerning women's status in the society and not being satisfied with traditional social science began to formulate their presentations to rational western knowledge and new theoretical-methodologist attitude to culture analysis /22/.

In order to find out the sources of forming modern conception of gender equality we think it is necessary to investigate profound peculiarities of feminist trends each of which gave its own way of solving the inequality problem in the society.

As it was mentioned above in feminist movement find several branches or streams, the most notable are radical (or revolutionary) liberal (or reforming) and socialist (left).

Liberal feminism secures equality via liberation. It doesn't demand the system changes despite the fact that it may enter into contradictions with its elements, which according to its position are suppressing or hostile to women self-determination

Radical feminism on the opposite is absolutely sure that the society had no equality. It was created on patriarchy of male's supremacy and also on racism or capitalism. From this point of view the only means for liberating women from yoke is the transformation of ideology and institutions in existing society, i.e. social-economic and juridical reforms. Women should create "separate groups", escape from relations with men and at last to put an end with male superiority /23/. However modern radical feminists changed their traditional positions especially in the sphere of hostility to men. Their major objectives became marriage, family, control over reproductivity, and sexual harassment

A bit other attitude we may find in socialist feminists' point of view. Social feminism is based on Marxist theory which proclaims the class struggle be the first. As it is known the society's main ideology explaining the existing order of things is the result of public situation. It is no more but point of view of dominating power group. In connection with Marxist theory the dominating class in capitalist society is bourgeois class, which subordinates proletariat and imposes its Weltanschauung. This analogy may be used while investigating the patriarchal society as divided into two classes – male and female where the dominant is – dictatorship of men "class" ideology. But the oppressed class has "class consciousness" – personal outlook at society's position, which is unfair to them. It is the consciousness, which allows them to criticize the existing power and find the ways to change it. In this context feminism may be called class consciousness and its aim is to liberate the suppressed women or to emancipate. Studying the presented aspects of Marxism "social-feminism" finds the roots of women suppression in the class nature of society. Its objective is to work out the strategy on eliminating men's superiority and capitalism and to restructuralize gender relations in the society.

Marxism is a complex theory and without doubt may be applied as means of analysis in sex relations. However this theory may be worked out as basis of economic yoke when one class suppresses another. Due to this modern feminism while using Marxist theory solves the problem concerning correlation between sex and class and this is the theme of many discussions. Also important for our analysis is the fact that our socialist feminism is viewed in the context of election rights then it is obvious that feminism aims at reaching its own goals more than to provide personal rights.

At present post modernized feminism or post-feminism adopting the existence of multiple and different feminists platforms makes an attempt to escape from "the only correct" direction in feminism theory /27/.

Thus one may notice great disagreement in feminist ideology position in its different reincarnation. But there is one general feature aiming at changing the existing inequality in rights and to create new egalitarian relations. Consequently, the summarized reproduction of different but popular ideas of feminism helps to use and use effectively these ideas in practical women's movement activity and supports to produce effective strategies.

The increasing number of modern feminist researchers and active participants of all ideological trends assume the necessity of women's participation in traditionally men's corridors of power the way men may introduce necessary for them changes. But one problem remains unclear – what way women must integrate into the higher levels of power and whole types of changes should be made in order women may actively and full-valued work in these structures. If role of women working in autonomous political (public) organizations is investigated well enough it

can't be said so about women working in men's political structures. If some part of women having been trained in public women's organizations enters traditional politics with already formed feminist consciousness then the major part of women have patriarchal mentality. Thus we make a conclusion that quantitative increase of women in power organs will not produce the desired effect. Only well-trained in public organizations and political parties which profound education in theory and practice women may start political activity. Great number of researchers certifies that women who have the mentioned above experience as a rule never bring to the agenda of these political bodies anything brand new. At least something which may differ their point of view of men's. But it is the combination of different points of view that very often helps to find the only correct decision. That is these women possess patriarchal consciousness (look Gender Glossary) and we may suppose that they even being aware and expressing sympathy to representatives of their own sex and problem cannot defend their rights.

For transformation of feminist theory about women in politics into valid theory it is necessary to take into consideration the great variety of women's political reality and to have a look at them without traditional political forms. Acknowledging women's specific features one usually appeals to sex and reproduction that gives women different from men's outlook at some political problems.

But we think that it is very important to understand the difference in outlook among women themselves and also to find distinct variants in the very spheres where women may have the same with men opinions (for example in the sphere of civil rights). Transformational feminist theory must also offer the manual for political actions. Women's political experience in the present power structures and beyond their limits is seriously studied in order to work out the proposals of all democratic changes as at lower public level and at stable men's political structures.

Transformational feminist perspective is useful for women's role understanding.

Women's movement in Norvegia may serve as an example. Due to this movement great number of women entered the political parties and became members of the government overcoming radical (separatists) and liberal-left (integrational) trends. Women's movement in this country formed effective coalition of autonomous groups and organizations, which help the major part of women-candidates to run electoral campaigns into political institutions.

Women's global movement proved that women have the right to be represented in politics and that they have specific key factors to influence on adopting of political decisions. But the difference between women especially in the sphere of the party preferentials and barriers on the way to equality make women's integration into politics complicated enough and at times insoluble problem because not all women entering the political structures possess the experience of public activity. More than this without organized movement aimed with feminist agenda of the date, with precise understanding of political structure reorganization, women-politicians alone cannot make significant changes /28/.

We think that attitude to the theory to feminism may be interesting via the theory of state well being for everybody. Acknowledging that final aim in the struggle for equality is the creation of society with universal well being, a number of researchers carry analysis of interrelation of feminists and the state. A valid and vast analysis of this theory a Russian researcher N. Shapkina presents in her paper "The state of universal well-being" /29/. According to her conclusions liberal feminists struggle for women's right for free competition with men in any sphere and reject the participation of state as far as it is possible. Just at this time adherents of state's interference in settling women's problems confirm that specific women's demands need special

state warranties for women. For example confirming the right for contraception, abortions, state guarantees to taken care after kids which give the woman possibility to be free and realize her aspirations. The representatives of radical feminism relating to the state policy assume that it is a kind of men's power over women via the state. The proof for this may be the fact that at major part of state services men predominate – in the Parliament, Government, higher echelon of health system, education, social defense, judicial system etc. Women's obligations according to representatives of this direction are to secure the changes in politics of the state under women's control. The adherents of socialist feminism criticize the state for expressing patriarchal and capitalist interests, for enforcing the dependent women's role inside the family and low salary.

Mary McIntosh, an American researcher, investigating the role of the state in guaranteeing citizen's well being defines the state as indirect suppression of women because it promotes the enforcement of financial dependence in family. The representatives of this direction arrive to joint opinion that the changing of social relations is necessary, then elimination of hierarchy between manufacture and consumer, elimination of discrimination in distributing home obligations and division per paid and unpaid labor /30/. In my mind, the proof of necessary and sound state's interference is the process of increasing women's well being are Scandinavian countries. They embodied these theories into life.

If at the beginning of feminist theory establishing the accent was made at researching the suppression phenomena of women in the society relatively to the structural contradictions inside the social systems: capitalism, patriarchy then current feminist theory is represented by the great number of comparative researches which analyze women's position in different societies and also inside different stratum, ethnic groups and cultures /31/.

Modern feminist directions stick to the opinion that men's power in modern societies qualitatively changed: sex domination is not any more legitimate source of power, but men's strong domination in economic and political spheres is still preserved. General conclusion of feminist attitude is: this gives women new platform and from that platform they may combat with men's domination in public and private life.

Thus, the sincere feminist meaning is not the creation of ideal society project, which must be embodied into life, but the formation of the way to transform the existing society into society, which will correlate with command of time.

Feminism as practical and theoretical phenomena is a product of industrialized society and it in many of its initial forms is opened, losing ideological meaning in postmodernist society making its contribution into its creation. By essence feminism as a theory forms poliparadigm postmodernist society, i.e. became one of the ways to transition to it and as for practical trend - and this is its second side – creates new practices, contributing to the choice realization of “reflecting subjectivism” allowing it not only to stick to any ideology but to realize its world outlook in practice /32/.

A number of analytics dedicate their researches to the problems of democracy and equality. In the book “Women in the Parliament: beyond the figure limits” an English researcher Azza Karam writes that widely spread notion “democracy” became the aim for separate people and populace in the whole world. But the division of democracy is still deviating because democracy almost every time serves to political priorities. It coincides to the traditional definition of politics, which is characterized by men's domination in public sphere, and due to this is not obligatory friendly to women. However, though women's political rights are indivisible part of their human rights this is fundamental aspect of any democratic system.

Next argument – democracy should take into consideration different points of view of all groups forming strategic decisions. In other words democracy should cope with meanings and political convictions of women and men. The very same argument may be used while involving the minorities into the process of decision adoption.

And at last may be the only and the most important argument is the fact that women comprise half of the humanity and half of any separately taken state. Women research and practical experience show that women must not be looked upon as minorities because in this sense they are the same minority as men. Working out and conducting politics directly or indirectly influencing the life of people without situation, reality, perspective may not arise confidence in modern world /33/.

Today, “democracy” is a much-touted word and has become a goal for individuals and nations around the world. However, the definition of democracy remains elusive. We know that democracy falls almost exclusively within the domain of politics. Further, it comes within the traditional definition of politics, which is characterized as male-dominated, specific to the “public sphere” and therefore not necessarily women-friendly. For this reason, despite the increasing popularity of the concept and practice of democracy, the question regarding why democracy and gender should be interlinked continues to be asked and still needs to be answered. We will highlight some of the main arguments often repeated in this respect.

First, women’s political rights – with politics being broadly defined to include everyday concerns – are an integral and inseparable part of their human rights; and human rights, in turn, are fundamental aspect of any democratic framework. A second argument for linking gender and democracy is that in a democracy points of view of different groups involved must be taken into account in formulating any decision or carrying forward any strategy. In other words, democracy must be inclusive of the opinions and perceptions of women as well as men. This argument is also used to justify the need to bring minorities into decision-making process.

Finally, perhaps the single most important rational factor for linking democracy and gender is that women effectively constitute half of the world population, and half of each single national population. Women’s studies and the amalgamation of practical experiences repeatedly have pointed out that women are not and should not be considered a minority. Indeed, women are as much “minority” as men in such a context. To conceptualize issues and develop policies which will affect directly or indirectly citizens’ lives without taking into account the situation, perspectives and realities of all those who will be affected is no longer credible in today’s world. In the times being and at present women’s movement in this or another form stand for idea of conformation and conducting the principle of equal rights, freedoms and opportunities for women and men. It supposes working out special state programs, legal procedure and norms, which help women to open the road into traditionally inaccessible spheres of public life. Taking into account gender perspectives the involving of women into the process of adoption the decision is indisputable attribute of any democracy. Consequently, democracy cannot be gender blind. It stretches to equality and women representation in the processes of decisions adoption and possible ways to reach these goals.

Here ideas, ideals of democratic changes may be considered the primary base of feminism and feminism in its turn – the sign of democracy, which needed. The development of modern forms and norms of democracy in any other society supposes equal participation of men and women in all spheres of public life at all levels of decision adoption – in the state, in the family.

Marilee Karl – a Philippinian activist of women’s movement utters more definitely: “Women are the major political force not only because that greater part of the mankind is excluded from

public life and also due to playing a significant role in creation of organizations and movement throughout the globe they become more and more active in their countries, regions and at international arena” /34/.

It is necessary to understand why women’s participation is so important. Firstly because true democracy cannot exist without real participation of people in managing and developing without equal participation of men and women in all spheres of life at all levels of decision adoption. Secondly, the goals of development cannot be aimed without full women’s participation not only in the process of development but in forming its aims. And thirdly, women’s participation changes the world where we live introducing into political processes and society new priorities and perspectives. Focusing attention at problems, which are mostly neglected by mankind, women’s participation makes society more responsible for human demands.

From the notion “participation” we extract two measurements: qualitative and quantitative. Previously qualitative tendencies prevailed and participation was measured exclusively by the quantity of people despite qualitative contribution into the decision adoption process. Today focus is deviated from quantitative to qualitative parameters of participation, which became conceptualized in a wider sense.

Participation means that people are closely involved into economic, social, cultural and political processes influencing their life. In separate cases people may possess full and direct control over these processes and in another – this control may be partial. People have constant access to adoption of decision and power. That is important. Participation is the meaning and basic element of mankind progress and development.

Women’s political movement has many forms: it includes not only voting and elected positions but also collective activity in associations and organizations. Almost in every country in the sphere of electoral politics women acquire great experience in having the right to vote and be elected for political posts. But the percentage of women parliamentary members is only 10% and they are small fragment of political top at national and international level.

The major form of women’s political participation is participation in women’s non-governmental organizations of local, national and international levels. And though women have long run history in non-governmental organizations the extensive development may be seen during last ten years. During this period fighting for social changes they reach significant success and made great impact on current political processes and society changes.

In the frames of modern conception of gender development women’s research aiming at creation of women’s history came across theoretical difficulty: how to introduce marginal women’s history into general (men’s)? This problem solution resulted in rechecking in

1980s conceptual apparatus of feminism theory to key-notion gender having excluded biological determinism in this field.

The notion of gender may be applied not only to women and is not absolutely women’s problem. Gender is “not only women’s problem but relations between sexes. Thus it exists in social context of power distribution, prestige and private property” /35/.

According to Byelorussian researcher Irina Chickalova’s point of view the notion of gender is central in the terminology apparatus in feminist authors who starting with critical approach concerning “natural subordination” and subordinate position of women applied to gender the basic place in analytical structure of power, organization of social and cultural institutions, modes of ideological control in modern societies. Nowadays without gender mentioning not a single juridical document is done. Alongside with important terminology while discussing gender relations such as “femininity / female”; “masculine/ male”; “patriarchal/ patriarchat”;

“social/ public”; “private/ ownership”, “sexism”, “ageism” (discrimination on age), gender became necessary part of lexics not only of any intellectual, but any of politically correct citizen in the West /36/.

Analysis of social relations development from gender position is the differentiating of different social functions of women’s and men’s roles. On the basis of this notion “...we manage to overcome centenarian ideas about men and women not only as biological creatures who should only “depend and fight” or “give birth to children and take care after”. Sex was considered to be a higher social function, status and definite behavior stereotype.

According to this theory in any sphere of human beings activity including politics two points of view have the right to exist, two types of relations – men’s and women’s. Males and females acquire information in a different way, the same with solving problems and conducting real situations, serve the society in a different way. These attitudes should peacefully coexist and never be in confrontation”. /37/.

The world political experience shows that in different societies it is different. In the countries with transit economy this problem is especially sharp because women as less established strata became the object of hidden and direct discrimination. The problem is that despite the fact that “women’s attitude” in most cases could be fruitful and effective than traditional men’s attitude women are not given the possibility to display their abilities. Due to this women actively acquire new forms appeared in 1990-s: participate in public movement, create organizations, which attract attention to co-relations of social sex.

The sense of equality between men and women may be defined by the following: it is “equal position, independence, responsibility and participating of both sex in all spheres of public and private life. Living conditions of men and women significantly differ from each other and to a certain extent due to women’s reproduction function. The problem is not in the presence of these differences but they must not have negative reflection on men and women living conditions, lead to discrimination and quite on the opposite they should be taken into consideration and should be expressed in equal regulation of economic, social and political possibilities.” /38/

Two aspects have prior importance:

1. Social structure of sex (male, female);
2. Relations between sexes.

The division into male and female (gender) comes since the time of men’s and women’s social identity appearance. In other words, since social reflection of biological sex due to distribution of characteristic per every sex tasks, functions and roles in the society, in public and private life. This description belongs to male and female gender and has a cultural character varying from time and place. The structure and recurrence of the defined have individual and social measure and both factors have equal importance.

During their life people in individual order form the roles and norms given to this or opposite sex and reproduce them judging by different expectations in this respect. In the documents of conference “Equality and democracy: utopia or challenge of time?” (European Council, 1995) we assume that the notion of gender must be looked upon in the political and institutional plans.

The politics and public-political institutions play the significant role in modeling the life conditions and in this connection very often confirm or reproduce the status of this or opposite gender which is established in the given society conditions. In generalized form the principle of sex equality:

1. Permits to investigate the difference between men and women and the roles they play in the society;

2. Includes in itself the right for differentiating that supposes the necessity to consider remarkable features characteristic to men and women connected with their belonging to this or another social class, to their political views, religion, ethnic group, race or sexual orientation;
3. Stimulates the search for decisions aimed at finding the effective mechanisms in changing of social structures, which introduce their contribution into the support and preserving powerful non-balanced relations between men and women, and at reaching the best equilibrium between different values and priorities specific for every gender.

For realization of this principle it is necessary to create real partnership relations between men and women and such division of responsibility, which could eliminate the violation of equilibrium in this sphere of public and private life. It is necessary to use knowledge and abilities of all citizens of the society aiming at the point that women and men should participate in the construction of our society, settling the present problems and be ready for future.

We know many definitions of gender and connected with it notions: gender identity, gender ideology, gender differentiation, gender roles, gender stratification, etc. All of them are used for gender analysis or gender investigations, socio-cultural sex relations in the society (look Gender Glossary).

Gender research brings to understanding that the problem of inequality is more profound than it seemed at first. Was overthought the role of culture, popular stereotypes, preconception of science in forming notions concerning women and men, manhood and womanhood. Thus gender investigations – that is rethinking of social theories but from the position of new category – gender.

Gender research as scientific trend became the result of intensive development of feminist practice. New phase in the development of this powerful scientific stream is marked in 80-s when the patriarchal and specific women's experience came into gender system analysis. This theory gives the possibility to understand the way gender is felt, constructed and reproduced in all social problems, worked out the perspective strategy at aiming actual equal possibilities for men and women.

The introduction of gender attitude towards science let us see the phenomena, which previously were out of sight. Gender researches study public institutions, which form traditional roles and culture norms: the state, family, system of education, mechanism of public labor division, mass media, and political processes. They help to realize human rights. From this point of view regular conduction of such researches in Kazakhstan is necessary because they help to form civil society. Thus the goal of gender research is changing of our society into the best way of life conditions and self-realization of every human being.

In the USA still continue to use the term “women's research” explaining this by the fact that woman is still the lagging behind element in gender system and consequently she needs separate study.

In the conditions of our republic the development perspectives are after gender research. At first, due to difficulties of transition period which reflected at the representatives of both genders (through greater part – at women) and in order to overcome them we need gender attitude. Secondly, due to historic traditions Kazakhstani society acquires the idea of harmonious gender development but at self-conscious level it rejects any mentioning of feminism often due to the reason of not knowing about its directions, goals and perspectives.

We consider that alongside with establishing of gender research important factor may still lie in teaching gender theory in educational system. Then feminism, which is the source of gender attitude, will be comprehended in its real value.

By the essence the introduction of the notion “gender” into the scientific turnover is not only adding changed theoretical-methodological base of research in this direction due to significant expansion of the analyzed circle of problems and complex attitudes, which investigate it, but also on the basis of notion “gender” absolutely new conception of correlation between sexes was formed.

Thus the significant sign of extremely quickly changed public situation is the appearance of new directions in science, political as well and in practice. To this row we may refer gender research and feminist public movement. Despite the fact that the latter and the former in different public-political systems have different attitudes, all of them aimed at finding and overcoming the social differences between men and women as necessary condition of modern society progress.

Many countries are at the stage of practical appliance of gender workouts. This refers to Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Sweden, Norvegia, Finland. Due to the fact that gender investigations in these countries are the manual for activity they are financially supported. Not occasionally due to “gender sensible” social and economic politics the level of life in these countries is rather high. And in its turn the attained high level allows to treat the needs of all populace groups without exclusion with all possible attention. The same is with marginal groups as well.

In post soviet countries and Kazakhstan is in their number the problem of women’s social discrimination acquire specific actuality in connection with crashing of socialist social order, the changing of social-economic way of life and actual elimination of social warranties for family, children, women. Also the distinct alienation of women from politics, power, participation in adoption of political decisions and responsibility for its implementation take place. Of course it’s difficult to remain calm especially under the conditions of world tendency to establish the equality of gender in spheres of activity.

Great differences between de-jure and de-facto in women’s position from our point of view is one of the factors which is the legacy of soviet reality. Because of that period nothing demonstrated so vividly the difference between declaration and everyday real life. Actually, soviet laws in the respect of equal rights and possibilities were the most progressive in the world, but as for mechanisms of realization - they were not worked out.

After the USSR crashing on the territories of all post soviet republics we watch the aggravation of women’s situation. Women are pushed out of power structures, labor markets. The idea of “national women’s destination” is widely propagating. This allows arriving to a conclusion that in all post soviet states the obsolete soviet tradition is in actual use. According to this tradition the difficulties of transitive period at first to socialism and communism and now to market economy and democracy are got over at the account at women’s population. Thus the transition to democracy forces us to doubt the proclaimed democratic values. Obviously while building democratic society of a new type it’s necessary to find other attitudes and decisions. Because of it at our point of view the best experience of world associations in the respect of gender perspectives may be applied in modern conditions in Kazakhstan but it demands critical thinking and working out.

When Kazakhstan became a member of United Nations organization a new notion of human being rights appeared – women’s rights. UN affords its own worked out in the period of several decades attitude to settling women’s problems and women’s political participation. These attitudes in the form of pilot projects out of the so-called Best Practices came into our country. During the years of sovereignty the outer Kazakhstani politics help our state to integrate into world’s economy and global political institutions. Women’s movement in Kazakhstan previously

existed in the form of “Zhensovet” (women’s councils) also became part of world women movement; acquire the traits of civil society. Great influence on forming of its political agenda is made by UN, OBSE, European and interparliamentary organizations. The notions “gender”, “gender relations”, “actualization of gender” and “gender development” became familiar in active women’s media. And though the role of feminism and everything connected with its movement still is not recognized in our country it’s feminism that made the foundation for future women’s victories over stable and unfair to women stereotypes and traditions. Thanks to feminism ideas and especially its integration trends the transition towards partnership gender relations was made. Then the strategy and tactics of egalitarian relations in the society were introduced. A great number of different forms of feminism ideas introduction may be seen as examples in such countries as the USA, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Scandinavian states. We are interested in this experience as the possibility of its research and adaptation to specific conditions of our country.

We think that women’s movement in our country, the directions of its development and the state policy is greatly influenced by Sweden experience. This is due to two reasons. At first this country is recommended by UN as the best example of egalitarian relations in the society for introducing and researching the experience of this progressive democratic country. Secondly, Sweden is one of the first European countries that afforded its support to Kazakhstani women’s movement in 1997 and still helps this movement. Sweden agency on international collaboration brings to life a number of pilot projects to Kazakhstan working with women’s non-governmental organizations and national and regional commissions on family and women’s affairs increasing the potential possibilities of women-leaders, teaching them methods and technologies of conducting political campaigns, municipal self-governing, mechanisms of legal introduction in the spheres of equal possibilities.

This country is called the country of “state feminism”. Sweden is unique because we cannot observe women’s movement in notorious understanding. Sweden and other Scandinavian countries reached such high level of development that public feminism grew into state politics, actually merged with it – i.e. they gained the thing all women in other countries throughout the globe wish to. Ideas of equality became the everyday care of the state, women’s organizations work in the frames of state plans where they have important roles in supporting high socioeconomic status of populace. And though the share of women’s representation in the parliament (Riksdag) and in the Cabinet of Ministers coming to correlation 50:50 women continue to give preferences the notorious for them spheres of social politics. The matters of state defense, financial system and economy are still men’s prerogative. And because of this Sweden women consider that they didn’t gain the real equality. Due to the Act on Equal Opportunities, which exists since 1980, leveling of salaries and wages in different spheres is very slow and that’s the reason why men’s population is slowly introduced into traditionally women’s sphere of labor. We may make one more conclusion: even in the democratic states and developed, stable economy with historic aspiration to equality of genders the society is still divided into men and women. But the experience of Scandinavian states especially in respect of state measures on gender politics will do for adaptation and application in any country. Kazakhstan is among them. Adherents of egalitarian relations in the society are eager to change social reality in such a way that women should play an active part in forming this reality, new principles of community coexistence, relations, which would be based not on patriarchal model but on the ideas of parity collaboration.

In general we may say that up to the beginning of the XXI century women reached significant progress having gained electoral rights almost in every country in the world, access to political system, i.e. having won definite positions in the states. However, the creation of such political atmosphere where women should be multilaterally and justly represented and would have the equal with men power is still the main objective for gaining. The struggle would continue.

1.2. Comparative Analysis of Women's Electoral Behaviour in Democratic and Post-Totalitarian Political Regimes

Distinctive features of women's electoral political behaviour are the subject of various studies in the European political science intended to reveal reasons, indicators and outcome of gender differences and gaps within the society.

The following three groups of countries can be defined by reasons and characteristics of gender differences:

- States, political and public, structures of which are based on promoting democratic pathways of development of the society. This group includes the USA, Canada, Nordic countries, and members of the European Union and Australia. Noteworthy that the phenomenon of "positive discrimination" in these countries has manifested in superior conditions for women, representatives of the African-American race, etc.

- Post-Soviet countries are split up in blocks as follows:

- The Baltic countries, where political and public development is interrelated with active acquirement of the western lifestyle and implementation of the western scheme of civilisation (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia);

- Countries acquiring democratic principles of public development (Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova);

- The Central Asian region countries (except for Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) where historical and cultural traditions are associated with clear-cut differentiation of gender roles and designation in the society (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan);

3. Theocratic states – countries of Islamic Fundamentalism where public development is confined to a traditional patriarchal relationship frame (Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait etc);

4. Countries of the Asian-Pacific region with predominantly mono-ethnic structure and national cultural features preserved, on the one hand and the western culture expansion on the other. The group is comprised of:

- Japan, Philippine where state policy stipulates promotion of women's role in the society, development of feminist movement etc.;

- China, Thailand, Malaysia and others, that follow traditional distribution of gender roles.

In general, manifestation of gender gaps depends on existing historical and cultural traditions and trends of the modern political and public development and is exhibited through the below mentioned aspects:

1. Level of political culture of the society

2. Adequacy of the established gender sensitive legislative basis;

3. Principle of parity present in the provision of political, social and economic opportunities for potential development;

4. Women representation at the higher levels of state administration;

In our opinion, the most consequential gender studies on gender differences and gaps were conducted by the US researchers - Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris /39/. Data obtained from the World Values Survey (WVS) that took place in more than 60 countries throughout the world for a fifteen-year period (since the beginning of 80s to the middle of 90s) was taken as essential principles of the study. This research is notable for collecting information on gender differences in developed, post-communist and developing countries.

With regard to this aspect Inglehart outlined back in 1977, that “gender differences in politics tend to decrease as the society approaches the stage of high industrial development. In other words, interpreting data on international models of behaviour reflecting the ongoing left-wing deviation in women that have been used to be more conservative compared to men in post-industrial countries, we may draw a conclusion that women will likely vote for the left-wing parties. The relative female conservatism is likely to disappear in the future.”/40/

Pippa Norris’s opinion on current examples of gender differences in Europe may be demonstrated by the following: “We may assume that during recent years no voting gender differences were observed in the European countries. Women and men were similar in their electoral preferences and ideological standings everywhere. Potential gender gaps do not exist. However, women and men have significantly different approaches to a number of issues. These political differences have not yet transformed into voting differences, but they may emerge under certain circumstances.” /41/

Study of distinctive features of women’s electorate is a new field in the national political science. Election gender analysis within the post-Soviet area was conducted only in Russia which pertaining to the triumph of “The women of Russia” movement at the election to the State Duma (1995). In Kazakhstan the present question remains practically not addressed that is proved by the absence of gender analysis of the previous Parliament election. In our opinion, the current situation can be explained by the fact that women neither as a body of electors nor as delegates are deemed as a subject of serious study.

Concerning this matter the American researcher R.Inglehart wrote that “the factor of gender differences is not considered as seriously as class, region or religious preferences in electoral behaviour studies; nevertheless, it appear as one of the factors that affects electoral foundation of the party policy.” /42/

Political gender studies are not only of scientific interest, but also represent great practical value for they aim to form political culture of the society. Moreover, analysis of women’s political involvement as subjects and objects of the voting process permits to identify: women’s role as of a new voter; the level of women’s political mobility; and the extent of female voters’ influence on the outcome of election.

According to the Russian political scientist Nadezhda Shvedova, gender behavioural features as well as political, ideological and value criteria of women’s electorate require the most thorough consideration because “concrete strategy and tactics of electoral campaigns and technologies are built upon it.” /43/

In this aspect gender analysis allows to reveal male and female electoral behavioural differences and to identify already existing gender gaps in the society as well.

The term “gender gap” adopted in the feminist methodology signifies difference between men and women. Applied to political processes the present concept ascertains significant behavioural differences of voters with regard to elections, political beliefs, views, values, political preferences, and membership with different political parties and voting trends. Gender gaps have a substantial direct impact not only on election results, but on the political route of the society.

Gender differences in political orientation may become apparent in two aspects:

- as gender differences with regard to political positions, views and values;
- as gender role differences;

If gender roles shaped by culture and awareness by individuals are expectations of certain behaviour imposed on individuals that affect political positions, views and values; then gender awareness appears to be the admittance of the fact that individual's political position is shaped by a physical fact of belonging to a particular gender.

Assimilated gender roles affect political orientation and are determined by differences in children's primary political socialisation. Corresponding socialisation agents – parents, teachers, leaders of public and religious organisations, including mass media influences the process of allocating roles. Certain positions, views, values and behaviour developed in the future are formed in accordance with the system of roles that is instilled in early childhood.

Dynamics of difference growth manifests in the current legislation and legal regulations focusing, in the first place, on the male population (status, stereotypes, and behavioural standpoint). Efforts to eradicate some forms of discrimination undertaken by a number of states, primarily due to international conventions and the pressure from local women's organisations are only at a local level, which is predetermined by an additional factor of latent forms of discrimination.

Modernisation of public and political systems of democratic development affects not only transformation of the nature of power, but also redistribution of administrative authorities among its different branches, the state and the society, including redistribution between women and men.

The most frequently employed mechanism of gender relation democratisation is to increase women's quota at all levels of power. For instance, in the Soviet period women's share in administrative bodies was 32% on average. Besides, it was a popular practice to appoint women at secondary positions in administration (first deputies of leaders). In the post-Soviet period political appointments of women were primarily aimed for social sphere where women traditionally represent the majority of employees.

A good example is appointment of women in Kazakhstan - Minister without Portfolio - the Head of the National Commission on Family and Women's Affairs; the Minister of Labour and Social Protection; the Minister of Education.

An illustrative example is representation of women in legislative bodies. Thus, according to the results of the 1999 election in Kazakhstan, share of women Senators constituted 13.2%, women members of the Majilis- 10.4%. /44/

This ratio is even lower compared to other time periods. The most illustrative multi-factorial analysis of gender gaps in politics was conducted in the USA. Results of gender monitoring which has been going on for over 80 years, confirm the presence of gender gaps with regard to the level of trust for the authority, party identification, perception and assessment of the presidential activities concerning the state policy and ways of solving topical questions of public and political situation.

Gender gaps are primarily manifested in women's direct participation in the voting process: from the presidential elections in 1964 the number of female voters has been greater than such of male voters. Few millions prevalence of the female American population explains the predominance of women voters in elections. This circumstance is an objective factor that proves influence of the female population on the current political processes.

According to the current study results, the following gender gaps regularities were revealed:

1. Women and men differ in their opinions that motivate their choices. If men prefer a technocratic approach, women, while supporting a number of political trends, tend to be swayed by humanitarian issues, in particular related to social help for those in need. The similar situation is observed in military force control problems: women support military force control and military programs budget cuts, resist involvement of military forces in conflict settlement. Different approaches are also typical for "affirmative action" and sexual harassment issues.

2. There is a correlation in party identification in gender aspects. The majority of the female American population supports the Democratic Party and its leaders, which can be demonstrated by the prevailing number of female voters at the presidential elections (1992, 1996), that granted the Democrat Bill Clinton his victory (54% versus 38% for the Republican Doyle) in 1996. /45/ The similar situation was observed at the election of 2000. Albert Gore, the candidate from the Democratic Party, gained 54% of female votes versus 42% of male votes, whilst George Bush received 53% of male votes versus 43% female. Men more frequently than women tend to associate themselves with the Republican Party. The necessity of the governmental interference in solving economic and social problems prevails among women. This explains their preference for the Democratic Party candidates.

It is noteworthy that the prevalence of female voters has been observed only starting from the 1984 presidential election. This tendency is due to changes in the social standards of the electoral law that resulted in a decrease of factors impeding female voting. The number of female voters depends on a variety of factors related to candidate's problems and characters and fluctuates from one election to another. Currently, gender gaps in the USA are apparent not only in the voting process but also in party preferences. /46/

3. Gender gaps are highly apparent in groups of voters with the lowest and highest education level. If the first group's preferences are influenced purely by economic reasons, the second group's preferences are linked to the Democratic Party's principle of equal opportunities for women and the Government's activities in solving social problems.

For example, in 1992 economic issues and prosperity of their children influenced the fundamental expectations of women with secondary education in the future. Attention of women with university education, despite the same extent of awareness of economical situation, was focused more on the President's position towards abortions.

4. Apparently, there is a gender prejudice towards women candidates, even though not significant. In 1970 13 % of interviewed of both sexes rejected the possibility to support qualified female-candidates. Regardless of the fact that this number has dropped to 6% by 1994, the factor of gender prejudice invariably emerges in all current elections. However, under certain circumstances women give their voices more to women, than to men, while the majority of men votes for male-candidates. In the United States from 1980 to 1990 at the governor's elections female-candidates of the Democratic Party have attracted female voters (in 16 states out of 19), whilst female-candidates of the Republican Party could win female voices only in 3 states out of 16. Thus, the ability of the Democratic Party to attract female-voters has been constantly growing since 1980. /47/

In 1992 the American National Election Study revealed that 73% of women and 66% of men believed that both sexes should enjoy equal rights in the field of administration, business and industry, but as a matter of fact men have more power. /48/

In our opinion these results convey the following: first, the Americans are convinced that women are insufficiently represented at governing positions, suggesting that the number of women should increase. Second, a more significant number of women consider that women are

insufficiently represented in administration, business and economics and that they are more inclined to give their voices for female -candidates.

Studies revealed differences in a variety of other questions as well, particularly on the issue of abortion policy efficiency of the federal government. For example, the same American National Study in 1992 showed that 42% of women compared to 32% of men supported increase of state budgeting for education and healthcare; and only 26% of women compared to 38% of men supported budget cuts in these areas. Women are more willing to increase funding for student support, homeless problems, aid to the poor, children care, crime prevention, ecology issues promotion, social protection and state schools. Men tend to cut expenses on city prosperity and development programs, while women were prone to decreasing foreign assistance to developing countries. Men desired for better funding of science and new technologies. /49/

Obviously, political activities of women expand when their life and personal well-being are directly affected by political decisions on issues of state endowment allocation, children education etc. Predominance of domestic and family responsibilities are accountable for depletion of women's electoral activities. Personal socio-economic problems mounting in low-paid job conditions impede women's political activism.

Women with their own understanding of political involvement developed a concept on power and politics. One of the investigations, applying numerous tests, attempted to assess strength and impact of formal (state, party) and non-formal (public organisations) structures. The World Study results and investigation conducted in the USA did not reveal absolute gender differences. Both sexes were more actively involved when there was the probability of insufficient or excessive authority. However, study showed that men have more interest in labour market, foreign policy and international relations issues (they, just like women, had an interest in family, religion and society issues). Women had more controversial opinions on the matter of attaining and practising power. However, women who work for official bodies of power and have an access to exercising power appeared to be more content with their status than their male partners. Women and men are not a homogenous group as confirmed by various studies. Therefore research works addressing problems of political and ideological women's orientation are of great interest. Thus, the American researcher Tolleson-Rinehart underlined that there is a tendency towards separation of the female population into two groups - feminists and non-feminists. For example, the first group actively supports the equal sexes concept in economics and state administration, believes that women's movements significantly promotes the status of women. The second group believes that women should be subordinate to men and should not strive for equal positions at the decision-making level and ought to oppose the development of women's movement. /50/

Gender-aware women may have different opinions with regard to solving women's questions. For instance, various women organisations promoting equal opportunities for women in the society, in business and politics, nevertheless, differ in their political preferences and opinions on many issues. Group awareness includes social and group identification, beliefs and interests as components. The rest of components may be dissatisfaction with a group power compared to other social groups; acknowledgement of inequality as illegitimacy; such forms of group awareness among women is referred to as "feminist awareness". (See also the Gender glossary)

In order to determine political efficiency of behavioural stereotypes in female groups the American scientists identified the following assessment indicators of group awareness:

- Indicators calculated on the basis of sociological data, including evaluation of women's group involvement and of the level of support of women's equality.

- Indicators using corresponding individual assessment usually applied to women's movement (or feminism) combined with the assessment of the level of support for equal rights for women.

Let us remind that the direct purpose of the feminist awareness is the conviction that women and men should enjoy equal rights. The controversial notion on “domestic” role of women is a core postulate of the traditional point of view highlighting domestic, men oriented role of a wife and mother in the patriarchal society. The traditional point of view dominated in the American society in the first half of the 20th century. The value scale on women’s role in the society has been diminished as a result of the cultural revolution in the second half of the last century.

Despite the fact that gender awareness assumes identification of women with the rest, nevertheless, it can not be deemed as an indicator of feminist awareness. Women may draw parallels between themselves and other women, but at the same time may have totally different opinions on women’s role in the society. In Margaret Conway’s opinion “those holding feminist awareness generally realise traditional role of women in the society and discrimination against women.”/51/

As practice shows, even small differences between political preferences of women and men as well as between women themselves, may have an important effect in case when politicians at a governmental level have similar preferences.

Results of the survey conducted in the USA revealed that the depth of political preferences is a relatively significant feature. However, some individuals who take politics seriously are totally indifferent to the above-mentioned feature. And the others, who take politics seriously as well, pay close attention to this feature. The last group will probably become involved in politics and will encourage the rest of the population or politicians to make political decisions. Unfortunately, absence of political preference studies impedes influence assessment of political actions.

In order to measure level of women’s involvement in election campaigns the American researches conducted comparative analysis of women’s political activity in election campaign in different aspects: working for a candidate or a political party; financial contributions; visiting election meetings and debates; forecasting election results; bearing of signs and symbols displaying personal choice.

Results of the numerous US studies showed the constant tendency within electorate towards gender distinction. The previous historically shaped behavioural model with high level of male attendance has dramatically changed which is confirmed by the following:

1. Women’s voting rate has raised after 1960s. Beforehand women voted less than men and mostly were involved in organisational and administrative activities. However, only women with university education attended city meetings and contacted local authorities. As early as in 1976 educated women participated in politics equally with secondary educated men. In 1994 the number of female signatures in petitions prevailed significantly over male signatures. That year women were more active in attending political meetings and debates than men were and many of them became members of legal associations founded by the Congress members or local council members.

2. Starting from 1980 organisations that encourage women to vote have strengthened their efforts. A special attention is paid to support women-candidates. Such organisations focus on the House of Representatives and the Senate candidates as well as on candidates to local state administration. The most well known organisations are Emily’s List that provides support to democratic candidates and WISH List that sustain republican candidates.

3. Within the last years of the 20th century a number of trade union committees expanded (for example, political actions committee (PAC) is a part of American Association of Nurses). In

1992 year 29 out of 45 registered supported female candidates to the federal organs of administration. In 1996 – 55 committees either solely provided support or did fund raising predominantly in a form of contributions from women. In four years they have multiplied the funding by more than 10 times for female-candidates which is proved by the fund's amount of money – 11,5 million. Dollars in 1998 versus 1,1 million. Dollars in 1992. Besides financial support to female-candidates has increased on a national, regional and local level.

Women's activities on a local level are immensely important, because they are considered as a starting level for developing leadership and communicative skills each politician needs to have. Moreover, these activities may foster perception of political information and establishment of connections with public leaders.

4. Gender differences may also evince in making preferences for an organisation. The study of 1986 revealed that men are more prone to participate in trade unions, sports clubs, farmers' and professional associations. Women's preferences were with youth, religious, educational or academic organisations. Men were more active while encouraging to vote for one or another candidate, raising money for election campaigns, attending political meetings or chairing political and state institutions. Men also spent more time discussing political issues with friends, colleagues, public leaders and office managers. The political involvement study from the 1990 National survey auxiliary evidenced the lower political activity of women compared to men. Women were less eager to work in political campaigns, to participate in non-formal public associations, to get in touch with state civil servants, were less frequently members of political parties /52/.

A number of other studies were focusing on analysis of political participation influenced by factors like: social status of the individual; resources availability (financial or human), for example, for election campaigns; motivation to take part; legislative regulations; political environment.

The above mentioned factors under certain circumstances may impede or facilitate political involvement of an individual. For instance, social status features (level of education, life experience, age etc.) constitute the first group of factors. Morale imperative that enhances political efficiency, election pledges to candidates or political parties, participation in the process of political problems settlement may stimulate social and political involvement. Candidates' personal activities, political parties and action of public movements may promote individual motivation. Voting enrolment may increase or decrease depending on such requirements and administrative processes as registration procedure. Political environment also has its influence on level of participation. For example, some local political groups encourage their women to vote, while others on the contrary oppose women in this aspect.

Political behaviour is seriously affected in both traditional and modern models by factors like: level of education, age, type of employment, reproductive features (highly illustrative especially in women), time factor.

1. Level of education. It has been proved that with the better level of education society receives more profound perception of political processes and their impact on life. Educated people are convinced that their political activities may eventually lead to actual changes in politics. This factor may play a stimulating role and encourage more active voting. Education allows for an ample opportunity to analyse information on political course and on possible resonance of civil interests. Moreover, better-educated individuals are more successful in overcoming bureaucratic barriers that became an inevitable part of the registration (even though a special law "voting promotion" was passed in 1995). Citizens with university education, as a rule, have more interest

in politics and are more competent in using published production on state actions and political activities.

2. Age. Gender differences in age structure can be exemplified by voting results of the 1992 presidential elections. Clearly the highest ratio of women voters was observed in the group of women aged less than 54 years old compared to men of the same age. In the group aged older than 55 years the scales were leaning towards the opposite direction due to male prevalence in number of people.

3. Type of employment. Researchers emphasised that in socio-professional aspect employed women are more involved in politics than unemployed. The present distribution is due to the fact that economically active women have more opportunities to analyse state policy and what is more, they are exposed to politics-oriented influence of their colleagues. An important fact to consider is that working women possess non-formal experience from contacting government and local authorities demanding to eradicate discrimination in education, employment, professional training and in career opportunities.

Regardless of gender gaps revealed women are more active voters. However, practice shows that women's participation in campaigns and in some types of political actions such as co-operation with public high officials is significantly lower than in men. An obligation to political party or desire for its candidate to win may serve as a motivating factor for involvement in politics. Party identification is a key factor in this matter. Those identifying themselves as party members appear to be more active as election participants and voters. Women in this aspect act similarly, but tend to identify themselves with the Democratic Party. Political participation is a subject influenced by political positions and beliefs. Those who are convinced are more efficient. Government sympathetic to its voters is a key factor to increase number of voters and campaign participants.

Frequently competency of political leaders depends on ability to carefully listen to comrade's opinions. Before 1992 women were highly reluctant to join political parties convinced that women issues will not be addressed by the party policy.

4. Reproductive features. Resources and participation opportunities also depend on social prerequisites. Noteworthy, that the number of children in the family does not affect men's voting results. On the contrary, women become less active voters as the number of children in the family grows. In 1992 the highest participation rate was noticed in a group comprised of women without children (80%); women with one child constituted 76%, women with two children – 73% accordingly, women with three children 71%, women with four and more children – 57%.

5. Time factor. This factor directly correlates with the previous, because housework consumes a great deal of women's time that lack means facilitating participation process (for example, time, money, skills etc.). Women often occupy positions that do not provide adequate conditions for attaining political skills. Besides, women's income rates are lower which is proved by the family budget structure.

An alternative opportunity to participate in politics is to get involved in public organisation activities through which women are able to gain political experience and to build up political culture skills. Analysis of public organisation's activities in different political systems revealed that in developed countries feministic organisations are the most popular and well known. However, in Kazakhstan women prefer to adhere to socially oriented organisations (for example, the Association of Single Mothers, the Association of Parents of Disabled Children, the Association of Diabetics etc.). In our opinion, this is a compelling evidence that socio-

economical problems are given the top priority which is inevitable in order to be able to move on to the next step of political rights and freedoms.

Women's political participation is a manifestation of their political awareness. For example, in the USA during voting or other forms of political actions feminist awareness shows apparent differences between feminists and non-feminists. Feminists and potential feminists show the larger amount of voters compared to non-feminists. Women who identify themselves as feminists were more eager to work in election campaigns. Feministic relationships and trust for political system often differ from those in non-feminists. /54/

Despite the fact that women are more active voters, they are much harder to enlist in political campaigns and even involved women have a scope of responsibilities which is narrower than such of men. Women as a rule, may claim only one resources – education which in due course fosters political activities. Due to lack of resources required women are unable to take part in election battle for high positions within political elite. Usually they cannot boast high personal income, do not take positions powerful enough to influence further promotion, lack appropriate political experience that would provide confidence in political achievements.

Currently the majority of the female American population believes that women should enjoy equal role with men in business, in the government and in state administration. More females now have a positive judgement of women's movement and identify themselves with other females, even though not all of them have a positive opinion on feminism.

The number of women in bodies of state administration is one of the indicators of societal development. In the first half of the last century this factor reflected the general tendencies of traditionalism in this issue. However, in mid-60s to change this situation women established non-governmental public organisations, factions and interest groups. The most famous of those are the National Women's Organisation, the National Women's Political Union, Emily List, the League of Women Electorate and the Women's Faction (the so called Caucus) in the Congress that deals with increasing the effectiveness of lobbying women's issues, encouraging women to actively participate in the elections, both as the electorate and the political candidates. Such organisations were established at all levels of the Government, in all institutions of decision – making pertaining to women's issues. Because of those actions, women politicians started playing a more visible role in the society, the number of women appointed and the number of women winners in different bodies of power have increased. Finally, women became entrusted with responsibilities in different political organisations of all three branches of power. As a result, in the period from 1974 until 1990, the number of women in elected bodies increased in state legislatures by 300%, in state bodies by 50%, and in the US Congress by 60% /55/.

In order to attract more women in elected bodies of power and to assess the level of women politicians winning elections, the National Women's Political Union conducted an independent study based on the elections held in the period from 1972 until 1992. The results of this study were unexpected even by experienced politicians since they differ dramatically from the general perception that women rarely win elections. However, the conclusion of the survey was that if women do run for elections, they win just as much as men do. In the elections to the House of Representatives of the US States 95% of women out of the total number of women running for elections won, and similarly men won in 94% of cases. In the elections for the Senate, 91% of women and 92% of men won. The elections in the US House of Representatives were won by 95% of women in comparison to 95% of men. The number of women running for the Senate and the Government was very low - 53 and 33, accordingly. However, it was evident that women were just as successful in these elections as men were. /56/

The analysis of the elections of 1999 in Russia and the Ukraine indicated that there are no serious differences in the possibility to be elected for men and women. /57/

The overall conclusion of this study was that the reason why there are not enough women in elected bodies of power is not because they lose the elections, but because only few women decide to run for elections.

In the last decade of the XX century the increasing number of the American women participated in the election campaigns, running for responsible posts in the state. In 1996 the record number of women were elected to the US Congress for the whole history of the country - 60 (11.2% of the total number of seats), including 9 in the Senate and 51 in the House of Representatives. The 1998 interim elections did not bring drastic changes: 56 women were elected to the House of Representatives. These elections were also record breaking in terms of the number of women running for political seats (75 candidates from the Democratic Party and 46 from the Republican Party). However, one of the problems was the electorate's behaviour: the number of people attending elections was no more than 38%. In this light, the significance of female electorate as a more disciplined and relatively more actively participating in elections is increasing.

The dynamic growth of the American women's movement is accompanied by the active research on gender issues conducted in that country. For example, the National Committee on Women's Life Research unites over 75 research centres that are both science and practice oriented. Based on scientific research, dozens of universities and research centres on gender issues have developed a number of self-training manuals on leadership issues.

In the USA a number of theories exist that explain why women and men electorate behave differently. Some think that these differences stem from the political differences that exist between two sexes in the society. Others note the existence of natural differences in attitudes and moral values between sexes that can influence the specific differentiating style of behaviour.

The study conducted indicates not only a large share of female electorate, but also a high level of discipline and a sense of responsibility of the American women who consider participation in election as their civil responsibility. "It is natural that women's electorate is not homogenous in its preferences and differs by political, ideological, party, philosophical, and economic judgements and preferences that define their voting. However, there is "something" outside the political, ideological or economic frameworks. This "something" is the gender interest, or the interest that objectively depends on the social-sexual group, regardless of party or ideological belonging. For example, the abortion issue is considered as an issue of women's human rights." /58/

However, women's electorate votes in accordance with a combination of different interests and not only with gender interests. It is important to identify the level of a gender factor in this combination of interests. It is reasonable to suggest that the level of gender component in the voting behaviour of women's electorate is defined by the level of subject's awareness of common interests, i.e. the awareness that women constitute a large social demographic group that needs holistic state women's policy. This policy is necessary as an independent direction because there is a group of specific problems related to the status of women in the society at each historical stage. Here, the role of women's movement in raising women's awareness and "training" women's electorate is enormous. It is its strength, quality and organisation that influence the level of gender component in the behaviour of women's electorate. /59/

Therefore, the conclusion is evident – in each political culture the law of relevance of development of women's movement and the level of gender component of electorate behaviour is valid. Taking this into consideration, the characteristic of gender political culture is the aware

correlation of political subjects to this law with its consequent consideration in conducted political policies and programmes.

To make a conclusion, we can state that despite the fact that the American women have reached significant progress during these two decades, their number in higher power institutions is difficult to consider as equal, which would encourage active women's movement in the USA. The reason why political demands on increasing the number of women in decision-making are based on the belief that the representative democracy means equal opportunities for participating in politics of all citizens regardless of their sex. The parity representation of women is indicative of justice and equality of the society.

Women politicians serve as role models for other women, for the youth and children because their example deconstructs old stereotypes of the role of the sexes in the society. The presence of women in higher positions of power is not only symbolic – they introduce their preferences in the policy itself and in the process of its making. Women legislators, for example, can influence the process of decision-making through a number of ways, including influencing the speed of the process, the political results and the setting of the agenda. The most significant evidence of women's representation in legislature is the targeted activity of women politicians to act on behalf of women's interests in promoting legislation that would support gender equality.

Some feminist scholars prove that there is a natural difference between preferences and moral opinions of two sexes that can influence the typical behavioural style of individuals acting as civil servants. Much of US research indicates that men enter political careers to strike "business deals", women, however, enter the game because they "want to help". It is difficult not to admit that the "help" motivation is characteristic of women's electorate as a whole, because a large number of women running for politics are ready to support expenses for social programmes which define the motivation that is the basis for women candidates.

Some American scholars based on empirical materials prove that among women legislators there is a tendency that is different from male type of politics because it is less conservative in comparison to the position of their male colleagues. Others indicate that the difference in voting by men and women legislators is reflective of political gender differences that exist within the framework of the whole society. Many women were elected as supporters of the feminist movement and therefore they fully support the egalitarian (equality) policy. /60/

The analysis of the specifics of the American women's electorate indicates that today in the USA the measures towards supporting business activities of women, federal programmes aimed at interests of working women, family and maternity and childhood have become a priority area for the internal state policy. This is a result of the struggle by the American women for their rights. Factors that have influenced positive changes are the following: mass entering of women the process of public production; strong women's movement that had challenged firm stereotypical perception of a woman, her role and place in the society; developed democratic traditions that allowed to bring a significant number of women to the decision-making level, foremost through the election process; development of international women's movement that catalysed and supported national women's movements. /61/ Intensive development of gender relations and future mobilisation of the women's movement is proved by the public and political events of the 90s when the overall development that transforms the lifestyle and values of men and women in developed countries, which lead to changes in party preferences.

To sum up, the results of the conducted research are the following:

1. It is proved that in the developed societies in the beginning of the 80s political behaviour and women's ideology were more conservative in comparison to those of men. Traditional gender

gaps continued to exist in many developed countries until end of the 80s, and in many developing countries where women continued to have more right wing positions than men, such gap tendencies continue to exist at present.

2. It is found that by the 90s in many post-industrial states the women's position changed towards the left wing, which influenced the establishment of new gender gaps, similar to those that exist now in the USA. We should note that this process is far from being unified because it reflects conditions specific to a concrete country (for example: competition between parties, political problems that are persistent in the country, the strength of women's movement and so forth).

However, by the mid-90s it was established that women in the societies with well developed democracies are no more conservative than men are and that they even tend to have left-wing positions. Modern gender gaps continue to exist even after introduction of a number of social transformations. However, the size of gender gaps diminishes only in those cases when culture factors are taken in to consideration. This allows us to make a conclusion that current gender gaps are foremost products of cultural differences between men and women in their values, especially towards women's movement, and are not explained by their living standards.

3. It is proved that in developed societies current gender gaps are more evident among younger groups, whereas traditional gender gaps are characteristic of the groups of older generations. In our opinion, should the influence of young groups' opinions be stronger than that of a particular lifestyle, it is highly probably that throughout generations women would tend more towards leftist movements. In the long-term perspective, the current gender gaps in developed societies will strengthen and will be consolidated.

The situation in the past in countries like Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands proves that there are gender gaps as a result of persistent secular changes in women and men's values. In the countries of the European Union, women in parliaments (in lower and higher chambers) constitute on average 15%, in the Cabinet of Ministers - 16%. Three Nordic countries have the highest number of women MPs: from 33% to 44%. These countries are then being followed by the Netherlands, Germany and Austria.

Despite the fact that women in Sweden received suffrage rights in 1921, the percentage of women in the Parliament (Riksdag) constituted no more than 33 percent by the end of the 80s. It is only after the Riksdag elections of 1994 the level of women increased until 41%, which became a world-wide record, and the elections themselves were called "women's elections". This was a result of a long-term work on improving gender relations, including a comprehensive set of legislative, public, political, and socio-economic measures.

In the USA women are more actively involved in public life. They participate in elections more actively than men (In the elections of 1996 there were over seven million more women voters than men voters.) /62/ As a result, we expect changes in the models of inter-party competitiveness and the influence of women in the election process and election results. For example, the gender gaps in the USA attracted the attention of the mass media and inspired public debates on gender issues, encouraged inter-party competitiveness in attracting women's votes and strengthened the process of involving more women in politics.

The research conducted by R. Inglehart and P. Norris indicated that until mid-90s in the post-Soviet territory the gender gaps were characteristic of the traditional model of electoral behaviour. However, during the last five years the radical societal transformations influenced restructuring the electoral behaviour of the society, which is also indicated by the Kazakhstan

political scientist G. Nasimova: «electorate body changes constantly due to the influence of socio-economic and strictly physical conditions.» /63/

The specifics of the women's electorate or the gender gaps between women and men, is significant for the Kazakhstani society since "under the conditions of political competitiveness parties will seek the most effective methods of influencing the electorate... It is clear that the electoral behaviour in Kazakhstan ... will not follow the path of the West due to the specifics of the national and cultural traditions. Therefore, the Western models of electoral behaviour will have difficulties in adjusting to local conditions despite their significance and external similarity of problems." /64/

To define the specifics of the women's electorate in the CIS it is necessary to study the role of a woman during the socialism since the current women's political participation stems from the recent historical past and is strongly connected with its heritage.

To do so, let us consider the research of the Russian political scientist Julia Gradskova, who writes "modern women strongly believe that during the socialism they were provided equal political rights to those of men. Continuing accepting the argument of one of the theorists of the Marxism - V.I. Lenin – that no single state in the world and no democratic legislation provided for women as much as the Soviet state did, we most often associate this justice with the political rights of women to vote. /65/

Having taken the power in 1917, the Bolsheviks declared emancipation of women and followed this slogan by relevant legal foundations. They provided for a set of rights, which women of many developed countries were only given by the middle of the last century. It should not be denied that in the early years of the Soviet State a significant experience in addressing key women's issues in short time period was accumulated. In state, party and public organisations a special mechanism of working with women was established: women's unions that functioned under the supervision of the women's units. It should be also noted that during these years the goal of attracting women into political activities was quickly addressed. Suggestions of women stipulated during meetings of the delegates received ideological support and were translated quickly into state actions. Women not only were invited to participate in public life, but they established a mechanism that allowed them to get involved. Here a large tribute is given to the work of women's units.

It is clear that the October Revolution elevated the idea of gender equality to the political, state and constitutional levels and was vocalised internationally. However, in practice the principle of equality had not become an organic part of the real state policy nor of the political life and nor of human rights. Having realised that it would be difficult to attain real gender equality in the nearest future, the state was forced to play a role of a benefactor of women. The social stereotype that men are dominant and women are subordinate was opposed by the state, and in the early years of the Soviet State it was in reality overturned. The role of a benefactor of women was played by the state.

Since 1930s "the women's question" was considered to be solved and disappeared from the party policy, its organisational structure and from scientific debates. The problem of "political role of women in the society" was addressed through a quota system for women in the representative bodies of power. In 1980-1985 the share of women in the Supreme Union constituted 32,8%, and in the Supreme Unions of the Soviet Republics– 36,2%, in the Autonomous Republics– 40,3%.

These quotas were not reflective of the true status of women in the political life of the country because the so-called "women's quota" was used also to accommodate representation of other groups such as the worker's class, non-members of the Party, ethnic minorities, rural areas and

so forth. However, it should be noted that at the lower, local level women were sufficiently active and their representation in the local bodies of power was sufficiently high. This is a world-wide tendency. Some Western researchers believe that women tend to consider local level more affordable for themselves than central level both ideologically and politically. This is evidently explained by the fact that practical objectives of interest to the women in the regions are addressed at the local level and also the effectiveness of the woman deputy is also more visible at the local level.

Also, in the Soviet times a woman was assigned with the responsibility to work and be a mother, however, it was not expected from her to build a good political career. Participation in the politics was provided through official quotas. The reproduction of the traditional women's family role was also at the state level where social protection roles were given to women. The so-called social motherhood, family issues, issues of childhood, problems of pensioners were usually considered to be within the political domain of women. It is sufficient to state that throughout the Soviet period there was not a single woman who became a part of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU – the highest body of the political power in the USSR.

The first elections in the country without quotas in 1989 and in 1990 demolished the myth that the woman's question was resolved in the USSR and about the political role of women in the society. Women lost the elections. This happened because of their low political activism and mobilisation, but also proved the attitude of the society towards a woman politician.

In 1990 among the people's deputies of the Supreme Union of the USSR there were 8.95% of women, the share of women in the Supreme Union of the Russian Federation constituted 5.6%, in Belarus - 3%, and in the Republic of Kazakhstan this figure reached 7%. In the subsequent years it increased, but never surpassed even 14%.

The reasons for the decrease of women's representation in the bodies of power have become a subject of many studies. Many reasons are named, but they mainly name the cancellation of the quota system, lack of women's skills for political struggle and difficult economic status of the CIS countries. The struggle for the survival has not left women with time for participating in political campaigns. However, some researches claim that the economic hardship would force women to get more actively involved in decision-making.

The former republics of the USSR received their independence and are building nations of the new type, having abandoned socialist past in many ways. However in some spheres of the so-called "women's question", there is a legacy. It concerns the issues of social protection, protection of motherhood and childhood, reproductive rights of women. Following the influence of society's democratisation, a network of women's organisations is being developed. Although mainly supported by foreign donors, these organisations are starting to acquire their own vision. Having taken some functions that had been left by the state, these organisations bring a significant benefit to the society

Almost absolute absence of gender studies of the election processes and women's electoral behaviour in Kazakhstan can be partially compensated by the similar analysis conducted in Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine. Although significantly after the elections, but already in 2001 the movement "Women of Kazakhstan" conducted a sociological survey on "Monitoring women's political rights", a section of which paid attention to the electoral behaviour of women.

/66/

Without going into the details of the methodology of the conducted surveys, here are some conclusions of the studies:

1. In the Russian society there is a process of decreasing trust of the electorate to the women's movement and their leaders. For example, in 1993 over four million people (8.1%) voted for the movement "Women of Russia". But in 1995 half a million less of voters gave their votes to them. The movement lacked 0.5% of votes to get into the State Duma. The reason for that was the split within the movement and their weak work with the electorate. This led to the loss of previously gained positions – no Women's Caucus in the Duma and many previously adopted decrees, concepts and laws in the area of equal opportunities have not been implemented in practice.

2. The election campaign of 1999 eliminated a number of new positive gender specifics. Foremost, not only one, but also a number of movements participated in the elections. In the struggle for the seats in the Duma already four unions participated although not specifically women's (men constituted up to 20% of them), but headed by women. In their election platforms they primarily stated protection of social interests. However, there was also one peculiarity – the decrease of women in the party lists headed by men. As a result, in the State Duma there are currently 35 women out of 450 deputies. Such low level of women's representation has never been before in the history of parliamentarism neither in the Soviet nor in the post-Soviet Russia. This analysis proved the fact of the separatism within the women's movement, absence of co-ordination of activities of individual women's organisations. In our opinion, at the current stage the movement plays an even more important role than the "pluralism of opinions" in women's organisations in regard to the strategy of integrating in political institutions. This is especially valid when taking into consideration the high electoral threshold (8%) in the Russian election law.

3. Another conclusion – the possibility of women getting into the State Duma depends largely on the activism of women's electorate or on the level of their absenteeism. During the elections of 1999 the women's absenteeism reached up to 28-30% and in some regions up to 32-35%. The main motives were the lack of trust for political leaders, for the possibility to influence politics, tiredness from the high level political struggle and indifference to politics. /67/

The Kazakhstani women follow the path of the Russian women in many ways and in some issues still continue to follow their strategic decisions. In our opinion, the women's electorate should draw lessons from the Russian experience. The decrease in the level of interest to the women's movement should be carefully analysed and strengthened as well as the strategies of interaction with the electorate should be changed. The establishment of separate women's political movements and parties lead to separatism. This problem should be carefully considered since in our society the ideology of gender equal partnership-based approach to addressing women's issues is integrated, however, the reverse to radical feminist positions can be possible. The representatives of the so-called "Eastern way of thinking", which in reality is the majority of the population will reject the subjection of the "foreign" ideology, and in the best possible outcome would lead to the loss of women representing such parties during the elections. The experience of the women's movement in Kazakhstan, however, also has led to the understanding of the necessity to establish separate women's parties. This happened, in our opinion, due to the lack of work by women with other, predominantly male parties. The work with such parties may entail a long process of negotiations, exchange of opinions and as a result may lead to developing of a compromising party platform, which is also extremely difficult to achieve due to gender misbalance. Establishment of a woman's party leads to faster results. Here another struggle should be addressed – the struggle for the votes, which predominantly vote (as we have established) for men.

The Belarus study of 1996 was conducted in a different way than the Russian study. It studied the mechanisms of political choice of voters. The results of the survey similar to the results of the aforementioned American studies indicated some visible preferences of the women's electorate or so called gender gaps. It was manifested in voting for the left, for the so-called "non-left" (with democratic platforms) and for independent candidates. The gender balance was not witnessed in either of the voting cases. The level of women's votes changed depending on their residential area – rural or urban. The sharpest contrast was evident between large cities and scarcely populated rural areas. (See Attachment ?)

The researches have also found support of the fact that women are more disciplined in attending elections. Women are more often than men attended election polls. (See Attachment B)

These figures prove that it is not a specific group of citizens that ignore elections, but practically all voters do not come for elections - 90% of men and 80% of women.

In our opinion these figures and facts indicate the overall lack of trust of voters to the parties, party candidates and independent candidates and, possibly even to the representative bodies of power. Moreover, the researches have noted that women dominate the voters not because of political reasons. The conclusion was made that in Belarus women vote because of psychological reasons, choosing candidates based on their external appearance, lifestyle, behavioural style and so forth.

Intuitively, political candidates often avoided political rhetoric and claimed to be independent, trying to avoid expressing their political orientation. In our opinion, this reflects the multidimensional majority of voters. In Belarus as well as in other countries of the CIS, the political culture is not developed, there is no mass adherence to a particular party, often the party activities are not visible to the society and its platform of action is vocalised for voters only during the pre-election campaigns. That is why during the meetings with the voters, the political candidates prefer to accommodate the overall mood of the people who came to the meeting. /68/ Similarly in Kazakhstan, according to a united opinion of researches and the results of the official election statistics, there is a lack of desire of the population to participate in the elections. If during the presidential elections due to the large preparatory work conducted by all structures of the executive power that has mechanisms of pressuring civil servants, students and pensioners, a majority of voters took place; then during the elections to the Parliament or maslikhats the passiveness of the voters was evident. According to the results of the aforementioned sociological survey conducted by "The Women of Kazakhstan", "in the presidential elections the level of absenteeism among interviewed women varied between 13.3% in Kokshetau to 36.4% in Almaty; among female residents of oblasts from 15.9% in West Kazakhstan oblast to 30% in the rural election district of Astana. In the elections to the Parliament the share of "non-voters" constituted every seventh respondent in Uralsk to almost every second in Almaty (43,7%) and from 13,7% in EKO to 62% in the rural election district of Kokshetau. The premeditated absenteeism is evident." Among the main reasons of absenteeism the survey notes the following: no trust in the just elections; absence of a worthy candidate; and various procedural faults. /69/

Therefore, here is one of the mistakes of the parties and movements that become active only before the elections. Women's movement needs to draw appropriate conclusions and should not be carried away by raising the numbers of their members, but should put more emphasis on the quality of the work with the population.

The main drawback of women's political establishments is the lack of financial resources. Most large parties require significant investments to support paid key party figures – chairs of the

committees and party units at local levels, as well as establishment and maintenance of the image of party leaders. Without that the process of party members leaving the party long before elections may start due to the lack of visibility of the results of the party work and the weak influence on the improvement of the status of women. In our opinion, the experience of the Western women's movement in technologies for raising funds, party survival in difficult conditions, the methods of working with the electorate should be used. Although the American women are far from being on an equal level of representation in the highest bodies of power, in the US the major overturn in public perception of both women politicians and women specialists and entrepreneurs has already taken place. This is in many ways due to the strength of the women's movement. References to the "Eastern way of thinking" and the specifics of the Kazakhstan's society are not always relevant since the US is mainly populated by the representatives of the former Puritan Europe, which had been also known for their conservatism in the area of women's rights.

The main conclusions on the specifics of the women's electorate and on the implementation of suffrage rights are the following:

- Women throughout the 20th century, from the moment of receiving suffrage rights have built their potential as electorate before moving towards building their representation in power structures. The results of the American national survey of the elections in 1992, as well as the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelarusian elections of 1999 indicate that women can win elections as successfully as men do. Therefore, the problem is not in the political backwardness or lack of competitiveness of women who decide to enter politics, but in their small numbers.
- The gender issue has gained complex political representation due to the behaviour of the women's electorate. How women vote affects tendencies, strategies and opportunities of possibility for women's leadership. Because women voters dominate over men and because women and men make different choices, since 1980 the "gender gap" became evident in many US national elections. This is why women's electorate has gained a real power. Their interests and preferences have never been a subject of such close attention. Because women's electorate behaviour is not always studied by the Kazakhstani researches, the results of American studies conducted during many years can be used for the prognosis of the behaviour of women's electorate in Kazakhstan. It is especially topical because of strengthening democratic tendencies in the society and the growing role of women in the political life of the country.
- The belief that women always vote like their husbands was not proved. The behaviour of women's electorate and women objects of elections should be studied through surveys, focus groups and analysed by different parameters (such as the age, the educational level, family status, number of children, religion, occupation, area of residence, participation in public and political movements, etc.) Women politicians are role models for other women, youth and children because they help to break societal stereotypes on gender roles by their personal examples. The representation of women in politics reflects not only justice towards the other half of the humanity. Women introduce in politics and the process of its formation their own experience and knowledge, their preferences that stem from the historical division of roles in the society and responsibilities within families.
- As a result of their strength as an electorate, women have political influence. Making women run for an office, being elected and appointed should become a politically popular act. Parties and social movements should strengthen their work in attracting more prominent women and to put them up for elections. The party that would become aware of that earlier than others would be the leader in subsequent elections.

1.3. GENDER ASPECT OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN THE MODERN WORLD

The 20th century became the time of active social–and–political and economic changes, which transformed many social paradigms and changed the world political landscape. The gender gap, the successfulness of which is defined, first of all, by the fact of giving political rights and liberties to women, forming gender strategies directed at the widening of political opportunities, has become one of the most impressive results in the history of social development.

The development of women politization started in the 19th century since the time of their participation in the solutions of key political and social–and–economic problems in a number of states, for example, slavery abolishment in the USA, work conditions improvement in England, national liberation movements and so on. The experience of such a political activity had become the basis for early feminist movements formation, the programs of which included issues of giving women rights in the sphere of citizenship, voting, access to education and public health, which were primordially men's prerogative.

In spite of the fact that the issue of gender equality was first raised in the middle of the 19th century, its solution took a few decades. Thus, American feminists' call for giving the right to vote to women, reflected in a "Declaration of Feelings" (1848), where it was claimed that women and men should be treated equally. It also demanded the right to vote, gained finally in 1920 in the United States, and years later in other regions of the world.

Analogous demands were also put forward in other states, whose political system included representative institutions. As mentioned above, for the first time in the world political history women's right to vote was given in New Zealand and Australia in 1893. Two forms of right to vote – to elect and be elected – for the first time were simultaneously given in Finland in 1906.

High effectiveness of the feminist movement led to such a situation when the right to elect and be elected was achieved last century practically in all countries with the representative political system: in England (1906), Norway (1907), Denmark (1915), Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom (1918), the USA (1920), France (1944), Italy (1945), Switzerland (1971).

Legislative consolidation of women's civic status has become the result of long fight for gender equality. Primarily the receipt of political rights was spread only on women, meeting certain criteria (land–ownership, ethnical belonging, etc.). In developing countries, which obtained political independence, women got the right to vote simultaneously with gaining national sovereignty.

In opinion of Byelorussian political scientist Irina Chikalova, "... the first demands that were included into the political agenda and received universal acknowledgement, were the vote, equality in education and employment relations in the part of payment, status and opportunities. The second group of demands is traditionally considered as related exclusively to women, though the effect of their advancement directly influences men: child's care vacation, day nursery, children's allowances. The third group encloses reproductive rights (abortion, contraception, family planning problems consultations) and has relation to the biological functions of women and men... Family violence, problems at workplace connected with sexual harassment, stalkerism have also become the part of political agenda" /70/.

Having realized the main demands on a suffrage stage, the world feminism concentrated itself on the creation of women's further political advancement mechanisms, giving opportunities in decision-making sphere and including them into the higher organs of government.

The world history of parliamentarism shows that after the World War II “out of 189 countries where there whenever the elective organ existed only in 38 countries woman was elected to the leading positions in the parliament itself and in one of its chambers. In 1927 and 1932 woman was elected to the position of a Bundestag chairperson in the parliament of Austria, in 1950- in Denmark. Till 1960s women did not occupy high parliamentary positions in the countries with representative electoral system. It is noteworthy to say that in the mentioned 38 countries, where women occupied high positions in the parliament, the presidential position was more often given to the Upper Chamber, than to the Lower one: 58% versus 42% of cases. Besides, 36% of senators were appointed but not elected in a democratic way” /71/.

Five main arguments for women’s more active participation in movement management are being outlined in the western political research works. These arguments are based on that the conception of democracy consists of the following components: egalitarianism, gender equality, political system legitimacy ground; differences in interests; new view on the policy conception and its focus; effective use of human resources /72/.

Methods of political advancement depend on what access limits are established within the frame of the given political system. In general, political system means the form of organization of political, social, judicial and other spheres of modern society life, reflects spectrum of circulating values and characterizes political formations: parties, governments, political culture, etc. Political system carries out a number of functions, connected with the social development strategy definition, resource mobilization, society consolidation on the basis of common goals and values. Depending on the character of political regime totalitarian, authoritarian and democratic political systems are singled out. Other typologies based on the signs of readiness and ability of outside innovation perception pick out open and closed political systems.

In accordance with the gender analysis political systems can be divided into balanced and non-balanced in gender relation, which are in their turn divided into really and nominally effective (or progressive).

As the world experience shows priorities, principles and mechanisms of gender policy realization in the conditions of different political regimes are to a great extent different; this is conditioned by different system purposefulness on the national and on the international level as well.

The processes of women ‘s stirring up and society political life involvement are characterized by multilevel tendency, where:

A. High level includes processes of world consolidation in the gender equality problem solution (UN, international organizations’ and funds’ activities on gender equality maintenance, women’s status improvement, elimination of discrimination against women, etc.).

Cardinal restructuring of social relations is much connected with the creation of world approaches to gender policy, which is reflected by the chronology of international solution development of gender problems:

1945 - Creation of the United Nations Organization and including the issue of men’s and women’s equality (as inalienable condition of women’s rights observance) into its charter.

Primarily, out of 189 United Nations members, “only in 30 states women had equal right to vote and could manage public office” /73/.

1975 – Proclamation of the Women’s International Year, the First World Conference on Women, held in Mexico, at which the problems of discrimination elimination mechanisms, women’s integration into the processes of social development and peacemaking were discussed.

1976-1985- proclamation of this period by the UN as the Decade for Women under the motto: “Equality, Development and Peace”.

1979 – adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) – one of basic program documents on the equality issue. In an internationally legal form it defined principles and measures directed at provision of equal rights for all the women, called upon States parties to take "all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men" (article 3). States parties are therefore obliged to work towards the modification of social and cultural patterns of individual conduct in order to eliminate "prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women" (article 5).

1980- the Second World Conference on Women held in Copenhagen, where the equality issues are comprised by the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women were discussed.

1985 – the third convention, remarkable for the world feminism, held in Nairobi, the strategies of which were accepted by 157 states. There goals were brought forward in the "Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women for the period of 1986 till 2000" – Equality, Development and Peace with the equality considered as not only legal concept, but as equality of women's rights and opportunities to participate in the development process as an active working force, directly connected with the task of all-round social and economic development, and as a basis of the whole society progress achievement.

1995 – the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, where the Platform for Actions (Beijing Declaration) was adopted. The Beijing Declaration, with equality, development and peace as its fundamental theme, affirmed progress made by the international community in raising the status of women and identified existing problems. It reiterated the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and dealt with issues such as poverty, health care, education and violence against women that were of special concern to developing countries. The declaration called on the international community to adopt immediate action for the early attainment of the goals outlined in the Nairobi Strategies. It also called for mobilizing sufficient resources at both national and international level to implement the Platform of Action and particularly providing additional fund to developing countries to help them enhance the status of women.

The Human Development Report (1995), the theme of which was devoted to the "revolution in the interests of men's and women's equality", was prepared under the auspices of the UN Program of Development.

2000 – UN General Assembly special session "Women – 2000: for equality, development and peace in the XXI century" which is also known as

"Beijing+5". It concentrated attention on the consideration of successful experience examples, positive changes, lessons taught and on the obstacles and key problems analysis as well. Further steps and initiatives on gender equality achievement in the new millennium were outlined /74/.

Mechanisms of gender misbalance equalizing are contained in the pack of international documents, including the United Nations Organization Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Beijing Platform for Actions, which confirm the principle of men's and women's equality in the sphere of management and decision-making. In different countries they stimulated working out of the

conceptual approaches, strategy and tactics of state policy, national mechanisms creation, monitoring of accepted current and long – term programs realization.

As the analysis of the European Union countries' state policy shows the most significant changes in the approaches to the women's problem solution, to the increase of their role in a society are connected with the processes of collective social planning in order to:

- a) defend social initiatives from the destructive influence of bureaucracy. The EU Council of Ministers is recommended to provide conditions for the fair distribution of leading positions between men and women in all the EU structures;
- b) guarantee the effectiveness of realization of EU program of actions on the national and local levels through local institutions which would be able to provide men's and women's participation in the process of social transformation on an equal basis. Governments – EU members are expected constructive cooperation in this sphere;
- c) provide such conditions at which political decisions and changes would be coordinated with the interests of all the citizens without any discrimination on the basis of gender /75/.

Acceptance by the majority of countries of the international programs items, initiated by the UN, led to that in 1970s-1980s cardinal restructuring of gender relations took place in the world.

In western states in this period the process of conceptual comprehension of social reality is starting, the proving unsatisfaction of traditional approaches to women's problems solution is revealed.

In Lerner Max's opinion "five changes, so cardinal that they are sometimes characterized as revolution, took place in the mid of 1960s in the USA and other developed countries in the women's status and way of life. Suffragist revolution was followed by sexual, which in its turn was followed by revolution in behavior, further – kitchen revolution and at last revolution at workplace, which changed the character of work force and the role of woman in economics" /76/.

Thanks to new gender paradigm of development, practical realization of which is illustrated by international experience examples, gender gap took place in the sphere of not only social-and-economic relations, but in political branches as well, where traditionalism manifested itself in exclusive monopolization of men.

According to the UN review research data about human development, held in 1995 (see appendix B), in average:

- women in developing countries were presented: in parliament - 10%, in ministry offices – 5%;
- in industrially developed countries: in parliament – 12%, in ministry offices – 8%.

The portion of women in national parliaments is 30% and higher only in a few countries: Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Netherlands and South Africa. In a majority of world regions this data is quite different. Thus, in Africa women occupy 30% of seats in South African Republic, while their portion in Ethiopia and Togo does not exceed 2%. Analogous variation in indexes exists in the countries of Asia and Pacific Ocean region and in Latin America and Caribbean basin as well. In Western Europe and other developed countries it is even more great: from Sweden, which is the only country having achieved equality in the number of men and women in national parliament to Greece (the portion of women there is 6%). According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union data on the 1st of July 2001 the portion of women in parliaments of world is distributed in the following way (see appendix G).

Significant variation within the regions depends to a great extent on differences in voting systems. In some countries the number of seats occupied by women in parliament is limited by

the constitutions of these countries. Other political parties can fix quota or proportions for women – candidates at the elections /77/.

The comparison of different countries is found difficult because of the following:

- representatives of legislative structures can have insignificant authorities in decision-making process because of the control on the side of political parties or executive branch of power;
- women in organs of power can belong to a definite social group and follow the policy profitable only for their own group, but not for the majority of women;
- women in organs of power are not able to change the existing norms because functionaries do not understand how the first ones place women in an unfavorable position.

In relation to the increase of women's political representation, in the opinion of Russian political scientist Nadezhda Shvedova, "Three main factors promoted general increase of women's political representation in the high level of legislative branch of power in the so-called democracy settled countries:

- the presence of realized political will which is expressed in that the aim of increase of women – candidates in parliaments, elected according to proportional voting system (political party quota) is put forward as the priority of party policy;
- the existence of laws, demanding correspondence of gender ratio in the party lists of candidates to the ratio of gender in the country;
- change of electoral system from single-mandate (majoritarian) to proportional representation" /78/.

B. Low level is formed by local intranational actions and transformations (gender problem inclusion into the sphere of state policy, mechanisms of political recruiting, development of local feminist movement, creation of different forms of political participation, peculiarities of women political representation regulations, etc.).

Peculiarities, forms and mechanisms of political representation are determined by many factors, which are in the most general view can be joined in the following groups:

- connected with the general characteristics of dominant type of political system and peculiarities of political processes regulation mechanisms. This group is correlated with the mechanisms of state structuring and represent the first (high) level of political representation coordination;
- conditioned by the degree of civic society development, which are characterized by the level of political culture, electoral behavior and social initiatives. This group creates the second (low) level of political representation formation.

The division of political recruiting mechanisms into two blocks is expedient at this stage of analysis:

The first – mechanisms of involvement (related to the high level of political representation coordination) worked out and implemented by the state (type and principles of voting system, form of party system, measures of women's advancement into representative and directive organs (quota, percentage threshold) and others.

The second – mechanisms of participation (formed by the low level of political representation formation) actions of which are initiated by the civic society itself (civic society dynamism, level of political culture, forms of political activities, personal interest, initiative and etc.).

In our opinion, mechanisms of involvement related to the state prerogative, can be divided into the following:

1. Legislative – normative (existence of adequate, gender balanced legislative basis, working out the new generation of laws, directed at leveling gender balance in the society, etc.).

For example, as a result of actualization of women's status and role in a society special laws on equality of rights and opportunities for men and women which defined norms, regulating equality of opportunities at hiring and dismissing, awarding for the work, professional training, career advancement, family duties distribution were adopted in a number of European states: in England (1975), Iceland (1976), Denmark (1978), Austria and Norway (1979), Sweden and Germany (1980), Finland (1987), France (1993) and others.

On the post – soviet area laws on gender equality were accepted in 1998 in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Besides, in countries of North Europe and Lithuania there exists an Ombudsmen Institute on gender equality realization.

2. Administrative – political, or formally political (provision of practical equality of rights and opportunities for men and women, creation of favorable regime for women's political advancement in all the levels of power, ability of electoral and party system to propose women-politicians as candidates and promote their entering the parliament, etc.).

One of the significant factors in this plan is the type of electoral system: majoritarian, proportional or mixed. The most spread in political practice is proportional representation. Gender analysis of this system of elections showed its most effectiveness for political representation of women. In opinion of political scientists, “as in 1970s so in 1990s women representation in parliaments on the basis of electoral system by the party type (proportional representation) in the largest and middle size countries of settled democracy was everywhere higher than in those countries, where the prevailed form or type of electoral system was single-mandate (majoritarian)” /79/.

Till 1970 the advantages for women in conditions of proportional system were not great and composed no more than 2% of difference in comparison with the single-mandate majoritarian system countries. But starting with 1970s till present time sharp increase of women representation in proportional system took place. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union research “in mixed electoral systems women representation is one third less in comparison with their representation in countries with proportional electoral system (those countries were compared where women occupy 15% and more in parliament) ” /80/.

Investigating peculiarities of electoral systems, political scientists stress the following advantages of proportional system for women representation.

First. The magnitude of electoral district (number of seats allotted to the district) in conditions of electoral – representative system increases and that influences the magnitude of parties (number of seats which they win in the district). These indexes are of especial importance as the party strategy formation in candidates selection is carried out taking into account the magnitude of districts and parties.

Party gatekeepers are guided by different incentives depending on the type of electoral system. If the magnitude of district is equal to one unit, which is characteristic to majoritarian system, a party can win no more than one seat. Besides, it has no possibility to balance its party bulletin; this causes direct competition and political fight between woman and man. Often a party nominating a woman is obliged to decline a candidate – man from this district.

If the magnitude of district increases, chances of the party to win a few seats increase as well. In this case it can balance its electoral ballot. Electors divide the party list into slots according to different internal party interests.

Some reasons exist for such a balance:

First of all, party gatekeepers consider it as a means of voters' attraction: the work of a few candidates with separate sections of voters is much more effective than the work of one

candidate with mass public. Candidates who have got different electoral support, can attract more attention of the voters to their party. In this aspect women – candidates also can bring use to their party not demanding the decline of men as it happens in majoritarian systems. Moreover party can lose part of voters when proposing only men.

The second reason for balance is a fact that within a party the balance of party list is often considered as an act of equality. Different fractions in a party state that it will be fair to include those representatives into a party list of candidates who have real chance to win. On this basis especially active women branches of party can also demand the inclusion of their representatives in the ballots.

The third reason of party list balance is the division of potential seats among different fractions in order to support peace and secure permanent support of different groups within a party.

Secondly, the advantage of proportional systems for women in the most is often a manifestation of a factor of contagion (in political science contagion is considered as a process in which parties accept the policy suggested by other parties) as compared with majoritarian system.

It is set up that in conditions of exactly proportional system main parties quicker come to the nomination of women when it has already been done by any other party. The latest promotes this process because of the lower cost of election participation than in majoritarian system. That is, if a party has a few seats, there is an opportunity then to allotting a seat for women nomination in contradistinction to majoritarian system where a party proposed only one candidate.

In proportional systems inclusion of women into a party list does not give large increase of votes and this increases the opportunities of a party to win more seats.

An example of Norway can serve as a proof of contagion effect. The labor party there increased the number of women in party lists in those districts where New Democratic party introduced quota for women representation for the first time. In Canada there was no such an effect in spite of the same actions of the party. That is, contagion is effective in countries with proportional but not majoritarian system.

But proportional systems have their own peculiarities, which can assist or, vice versa, cause difficulties to women representation. The most important factors, defining the form of proportional system, are as follows:

- district magnitude;
- electoral threshold;
- type of electoral ballots (open and closed).

In the worked out rules of elections organization, women were given support as by large district magnitudes so by electoral threshold which influences the medium magnitude of parties.

There exist strict positive correlation between the magnitude of a district and medium party magnitude. With the increase of seats in a district a party increases its party lists and wins more seats.

When electoral systems are projected, the effect of compromise between voters representation, voting for small parties, and the increasing legislature representation in the form of larger amount of women from large parties is taken into account. To check this hypothesis data from Costa Rica and Sweden were investigated. Both of these countries have electoral threshold.

Political modeling shows that threshold has an exactly predicted effect on women representation increase. Women will get an advantage if the whole country has become one electoral district, but then the electoral threshold serves as a significant addition to it. In many countries regional representation is considered important, that's why districts there are cut by territorial

(geographical) principle. This system is equal to that one which was used in Netherlands with a high percentage of women representation (31, 3%) and in Israel (with low – 7,5%).

As their experience shows, electoral systems cannot by themselves guarantee high level of representation. Israel practice shows that high electoral threshold (less percentage of votes allowing parties to get seats in parliament) is very important for the increase of women's chances.

Electoral threshold in Israel is only 1,5%. Low threshold encourages creation of mini-parties, which often get 1-2 seats. Everywhere parties strive to propose men-leaders who by all means put themselves in the first places in party lists. Women are put somewhere in the middle or at the end of lists when parties try to secure balance. If party wins 1-2 seats women don't get them even if they are in a party list.

The other characteristic, distinguishing proportional systems from one another, is the use of closed party lists by parties, in which the rank of candidates' turn and open electoral ballots, where electors are able to influence the election of this or that candidate, are defined.

Researchers suppose that closed ballots are more favorable for women. For example, in Norway where during the last 25 years open electoral ballots were used at the elections to local organs of power, the number of elected women decreased from year to year. That is, while some voters gave preference to women or moved them to more profitable positions in bulletins, the others declined them at all. In this case negative effect blocked constantly the positive one.

It is important to point out that if such an effect revealed itself in Norway, the country with high reputation in the issues of gender equality, then in the countries with traditional view on the role of woman such an effect increases repeatedly.

So, the first obstacle is a reverse effect of the use of privileged elections for women; the second - it allows to take responsibility from parties for the results of elections which are, as a matter of fact, lay on the conscience of voters, who have made individual choice. If the sum of votes does not allow women to enter the parliament all the responsibility lays exactly on them.

An opposite picture is observed in practice of closed electoral ballots: when women are insufficiently represented in them, parties cannot take off the responsibility and shift off the entire fault on the voters. The use of closed ballots gives parties the opportunities of looking through the composition of the whole delegation. If women representation does not increase, women will be obliged to leave party; this stimulates it to a more attentive relation to women's demands /84/.

Difference of electoral systems defines different results of women's political activities. In developed countries with proportional representation they could transform their requirements to a more representation. In majoritarian systems within the same requirements results are more modest.

3. Structurally institutional (formation of necessary conditions for political formations development, oriented at gender development, and increase of civic society political culture, etc.).

It is characteristic that reforming or creation of legislature basis of women' social feminology have principally important meaning and is indissolubly connected with the creation and working out of technologies of national mechanisms functioning, organizational structures actions, directed at the women's problem solution. In 90 countries of the world national mechanisms are worked out and institutionally legalized on a state level, and in five of them the control over their activities is carried out by prime-ministers. In spite of differences in approaches to gender problem solution, one common tendency is traced: the policy directed at the acceptance of a

system of measures on equality provision is effective in that case when it is worked out and controlled by a government.

It is noteworthy to say that organizational structures (to the competence of which there belong realization of gender equality principle within the frames of programs being worked out, reaction to concrete cases of discrimination, informational activity on the defense of political, economic and social rights of women, organization and initiation of corresponding scholarly research, study of other countries' experience) function as in large so in small countries as will.

4. Conceptual (working out of development strategies, adopting special, state, gender based policy, etc.).

The determining international document in the sphere of gender development is the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), which defines main ways and possible means of its eradication. By the beginning of the year 2000 the Convention was signed by 165 countries, moreover three of them signed without ratification, and 49 – ratified with reservations, 20 out of the whole number of countries – UN members did not sign it.

On a national level in the majority of countries conceptions and strategies on the women's status improvement have been adopted. But in the majority of cases, especially in developing countries, they are oriented at social-and-economic branches and the problems within these frames.

5. Program, which supposes working out and implementing purposeful programs and addressed measures. Thus, for example, in Bangladesh a program, due to which 10% of high positions in civic services were to be reserved for women, has been adopted. In Ireland mechanisms of annual reporting for realization of initiatives on equal opportunities provision, have been worked out. In Nicaragua women have been given the privacy right (agricultural plots). Norway holds on guarantee maintenance in equality on the basis of a system of quotas and legislature on equal opportunities. In Pakistan for the first time a woman was appointed to a position of a judge in the Supreme Court thanks to revision of some traditional approaches in state policy. In Sri-Lanka it was acknowledged that the improvement of women's status is the necessary condition for any progress. In Turkey judicial measures for elimination of discrimination against women are being in action.

Mechanisms of participation in political activities are composed of a system of determining principles of a civic society functioning, level of political traditions, development of civic initiatives sector, personal interest of a society in participation in political institutions activities.

Significant factor widely spread in the world are traditionally cultured stereotypes of functionally role-played triad "mother-wife - housewife", dominating in a society. In spite of active social modernization the relation to politics as to the sphere of men-monopolized activity stays traditional. On this level low degree of women's participation in political institutions activities is conditioned by passiveness and political nihilism of women themselves.

Ukrainian researcher Setline Kupryashkina considers that «wide enlightenment policy among voters, especially women, is necessary to make political representation of women a mechanism, really expressing their interests» /82/.

Intermediate link, related to the mechanisms of participation and involvement, is unfavorable social background, blocking the possibility of political activity, which in this case goes out of the frames of women's main interests. According to the results of sociological investigations «men have approximately the following hierarchy of interests: first come business, trade, finance and then national security at the end. Women's hierarchy of interests has another sequence: starts

with social defense of population (even not with children), then comes public health, children, ecology and the list finishes with peace in the whole world» /83/.

But at the existence of high-level social-and-economic or political crises this factor can become motivating to the sharpening of political activity, including women's one.

Years after the collapse of the communist system in the USSR and East European countries show that women's problems have not become prior for the governments of the region; international duties on securing equal opportunities are not carried out in fact, the newly born democracies are characterized by frequent change of governments and leading staff of all the levels, which leads to the absence of consistency in women's problems solution; gender consciousness is absent at all the levels of society; that is why a special mechanism promoting its development is necessary. All the above-mentioned facts depict either full absence or insufficient effectiveness of national mechanisms, included into the governmental structures of separate countries.

In Kazakhstan a national mechanism is also created on the level of president's administration. Since December 1998 National Commission on Family and Women Affairs has been functioning under the President of RK. It is responsible for state policy realization towards women (National plan on Increasing the Women's Status in Kazakhstan, 1999), and also for the assessment of other governmental programs concerning family and women. It is also used as a mechanism of a dialogue between women's NGOs and the government. But there is still no mechanism, legalized by a separate legislative act of the Parliament, which makes it vulnerable in conditions of frequently changed staff of the government. The law on equality of rights and opportunities being worked out is aimed to do it. Absence of its own budget, dependence on the decisions of administration of the President also do not allow the Commission to regulate the immediateness of tasks carried out and the fullness of their financing itself. Thus, the fulfillment of the National Plan is often hampered because of the resources lack, while women's forums are mainly financed by foreign agencies. In this case the agenda and ways of fulfillment of the given forum's resolutions are often fastened by this agency.

There are also no state funds for the gender investigations included into the National Plan. Without scientific data it is impossible to form the right strategy, work out our own approaches to the problem solution and also to adapt western models.

Women's NGOs of Kazakhstan, the analysis of which will be given in the next chapter, are related to the low level of political participation; gradually from social problems solution move to political ones; this shows level of maturity and understanding of consolidation necessity. These organizations do not yet form a shaped unity, at the same time they strive for share of opinions, information, contacts, reveal interest to the work of women in the neighboring countries and to the world women movement in the whole.

2.1. Women's Movement in Kazakhstan as a Subject of Political Processes: Basic Stages of Formation

New socio-political movements as a special form of political activity came into being in the 60s simultaneously in all developed countries of Western Europe and in the USA. Among them there could be mentioned human rights movement, movement in the USA against the war in Vietnam, students' movement at the end of 60s in the FRG, movement for nuclear disarmament in Great Britain, ecological movement in all industrially developed countries, youth movement in support of alternative life style and movements against any forms of women discrimination. All these

movements have been developing as alternatives to well known and powerful in the past working, communist, trade union and related movements.

In the former socialist countries there were no conditions, under which similar forms of political and social activity could develop into social movement or public phenomenon worth mentioning. In fact political leadership in socialist countries would attempt now and again to initiate socio-political movement as a form of people's initiative related to the creation of a communist society. Some examples of such movement could be the movement for the successive Party Congress celebration by way of achieving outstanding results in different spheres of life or for the communist attitude to labour. Such types of movements claimed for their positive impact upon industrial production and life style of the working people. It is only after some shifts towards democratisation and pluralization of political life in the former Soviet Union and other post socialist countries has been made that new socio-political movements emerged. They differed from all the former types of political activity by their independence of any political leadership.

Election system reforms and the first election of the USSR People's Deputies in 1989, especially in 1990, that took place on the alternative basis for the first time and in this way made it possible the participation of new political figures turned out to be one of the factors contributing to new social movement development. This factor and growing positive expectations of political and economic reforms triggered unprecedented activity of electorate and served as an incentive to mass participation in politics.

Traditional structure that dealt with different women's issues was the Committee of Soviet Women, which was the only organized form of women's movement with vertical structure of women's organizations. Political measures and their direction reflected statist nature of public patronage in social sphere. The activity of the Committee of Soviet Women was rather formal and lacked both real political power and influence in society though it possessed basis necessary to consolidate female population – a wide network of its units across the entire territory of the Soviet Union.

Gaining independence by Kazakhstan and extensive socio-political transformation in 1990s stimulated political activity of Kazakhstan society. Extension of the scope and levels of political pluralism resulted in the formation of new institutional forms of political participation of the people in general and that of female electorate in particular.

Formation of women's movement in Kazakhstan could be conventionally split into several stages.

The first preparatory stage - 1991-1995 – is characterised by the primary institutional formation of women's movement in Kazakhstan, fragmentary activity of women's NGO oriented at tackling social and economic problems in the first place, at business and protection of interests of family and children (Republican Council of Women, Union of Women of Kazakhstan, Feminist League of Almaty, "Zhanar" – foundation aimed to support women-entrepreneurs, "Taukemet-Misery" - Republican Association of Disabled Women With Dependent Children, a Union of Soldier's and Sailor's Mothers, League of Muslim Women, Association of Mothers With Many Children and etc.)

At this stage the policy of the Government in relation to women is characterised by the automatic application of principles and mechanisms of the Soviet system when social role of a woman was limited to social issues and was linked with family, motherhood and childhood.

At that time women's movement was not characterised by any notable political activity, which can be proved by the fact that during 1994 elections to the Supreme Council and local representative bodies the Women's Council had only six nominees. On the whole only 90

women took part in these elections (out of 756 candidates), which makes up 12% of the total number of those participating in the elections.

The 2nd stage covering 1995-1998 is the time of real development of women's movement in Kazakhstan. In the space of a three-year period the number of women's NGOs in the Republic has increased by threefold.

The beginning of this stage in our view was linked with the IV World Conference on Women in Beijing that took place in September 1995. It is since that time that strategy and priorities of the Government policy in relation to women started being developed. That very year the Council on Family, Women and Demographic Policy was set up. Despite certain achievements in this field women's issues were related to the problems of family, childhood, youth and demography.

The goals of democratic civil society and legal state eliminated traditional approaches (quota mechanisms in election bodies) to participation and involvement of women into the country social-political life. Leaders of women's NGO come to recognise that expression of social-political interests must be the responsibility of women themselves.

The third stage started in 1998 and is still going on. It is the period when on the one hand formation and implementation of the state policy in relation to women has got its further deepening alongside with the creation of motivation for women's political participation. On the other hand there was the dynamic development of women's NGOs, their political activity and institutional formation of women's political parties.

At the governmental level the Council on Family, Women and Demographic Policy has gone through modification in the first place. On December 22, 1998 it was transformed into the key institutional mechanism on gender issues in Kazakhstan – the National Commission on Family and Women under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. According to its legal status it is a consultative body under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

This Commission has been set up to protect family, to ensure the participation of women in political, social, economic and cultural life of the country. There are 28 members in it – representatives of scientific and cultural communities, industries, small and medium businesses and civil servants. The chairman of the Commission has the status of a minister, member of the Government of the RK.

The structure of the National Commission is vertical and covers all the regions of Kazakhstan because similar commissions exist under Akimats in oblasts (provinces) and in the cities of Astana and Almaty. Information on the activity of women's NGOs is to be found in the magazine "Women: East and West". Besides that major periodicals publish columns on gender issues.

Basic tasks of the Commission have been determined as follows: priority areas identification in the field of family, women and children and introduction of relevant proposals into state programs based on the Strategy "Kazakhstan-2030"; development of a complex of measures to ensure economic, social, psychological and legal support for the family, women and children, facilitation of their implementation; situational analysis in the field of mother and child protection, economic and social status of the family, the health of the people; formation of informational basis as to the status of women in society, their political, social, economic and cultural level; expansion of the representation of women in state management bodies of the RK /83/.

At community level – facilitation of the activity of women's NGOs, development of one's own ways to involve women into politics, provision of resource conditions, including educational ones, for women to be able to improve female political leadership.

At this stage political initiative of women's NGOs was targeted at the following tasks:

- To contribute to civic structure development in the Republic and to ensure women's support to democratic reforms;
- To protect and implement the rights and freedoms of women in Kazakhstan together with the governmental and non-governmental organisations;
- To contribute to matching legislation in the RK related to women's problem with international legal documents;
- To promote life improvement of socially vulnerable groups of the population, to bring down the level of female unemployment.

Specific feature of this stage is the initiative of the largest women's NGOs in Kazakhstan to consolidate women's movement in Kazakhstan and to ensure social solidarity of women.

In 1998 on the eve of elections to the representative power bodies there was set up a Coalition of NGOs that united under its umbrella twenty largest NGOs in Almaty.

The program of concerted activity aimed at consolidation of women's movement was developed and adopted at the conference "Pre-election Policy of Women's Organisations. Women and Election Right" (December 30, 1998), the major directions of which are the following:

- Addressing registered presidential candidates with an "open letter" (signed by 38 NGOs);
- Support to women at presidential and local elections;
- Listing women – leaders in Kazakhstan (similar to American "Emily List");
- Promotion and lobbying of women included into the list.

The key motivation for political activity proved to be pre-election situation in Kazakhstan in 1999. It was then that the first parties oriented at promotion and protection of women's interests have got formed.

Such NGOs as Association of Business Women of Kazakhstan, Feminists' League of Almaty, Almaty Women's Information Centre, International Ecological Association of Women of the East and etc. turned out to be the most active. In the middle of July "Women's Electoral Block" founded by Almaty Women's Informational Centre, Crisis Centre for Women and Children, International Ecological Association of Women of the East and Feminists' League of Almaty was formally registered.

The key goal of "Women's Electoral Block" was defined as the increase of female representation in all the power bodies, facilitation of women's participation in the country social life, democratisation process promotion and development of open society in Kazakhstan.

To implement the aforementioned goal the Foundation has come up with the task to form donor network based on which there has been developed «Kazakhstani Tomiris List» (similar to «Emily List» of the USA Democratic party). Politically promising women – potential candidates able to effectively lobby women's interests at all the political levels were to be united under its umbrella.

It was supposed that the activity of "Women's Electoral Block" would include holding workshops and training seminars on election campaigns for women – candidates to elective bodies.

At about the same time (June 21, 1999) constituent congress of leaders of Republican women's organisations took place, which passed the decision to form «Political Alliance of Women's Organisations of Kazakhstan» (PAWOK). After its registration in August 1999 the Party convened the First Congress, in which 150 women delegates, representing all the country regions, took part. During the congress of women's political party there was held the First Kazakhstani Fair of Goods and Ideas "Kanatty Ayel" ("A Wined Woman").

However due to organisational reasons «Political Alliance of Women's Organisations of Kazakhstan» was unable to take part in 1999-election campaign because it has failed to fulfil the requirement of Central Election Committee (Centrizbirkom) on the number of registered local party units.

Later on “Political Alliance of Women's Organisations of Kazakhstan” was renamed into Democratic Party of Women of Kazakhstan with R.Sarsembayeva as its leader. Regional affiliates of Association of Business Women of Kazakhstan, the network of which covers the majority of large cities of RK (Aktau, Atarau, Almaty, Zhezkazgan, Karaganda, Kokshetau, Kostanai, Kyzal-Orda, Pavlodar, Shymkent and etc.) has become party social basis. Party membership at present amounts more than three thousand people.

Not a single woman that has nominated herself on the part of NGO (PAWOK alone nominated 10 candidates from different single mandate districts of the Republic) has become a Mazhilis member regardless serious preparation for elections and the use of modern election technologies in political campaigns. Only one woman – the leader of “Balansa” Foundation has become Senate member. According to what she has said the only social organisation that supported her was her own one. Basically, women – former representatives of executive power that have been supported by Akimats, i.e. by local state power bodies, have become MPs. That means that women willing to risk and go through elections encounter obstacles not only due to their own political ‘ignorance’ or immaturity but also and predominantly due to the influence of external forces and unfavourable political environment. Another important factor is the lack of consolidation, cohesion on the part of different social associations during election campaign. This is one of the biggest mistakes of women’s movement regardless declared initiatives and disconcerted efforts of coalitions that become active from time to time. However the initiative of setting up the coalition of NGOs - “Women’s Electoral Initiatives” deserves research and its activity evaluation in view of possible replication of similar initiatives all over the country.

In August 1999 the Coalition addressed the parties participating in elections with the Memorandum (signed by the Almaty Women's Information Centre, Association of Business Women of Kazakhstan, Association of Single Mothers (Almaty), Gender Information-analytical Centre (Karaganda), Crisis Centre for women and children «Podrugi»), International Ecological Association of Women of the East, Taldykorgan Regional Centre for Women Support and Feminist League, in which it was proposed to form 50% female party lists. This proposal found support on the part of only one women's party «Vozrozhdeniye Kazakhstan» (Revival of Kazakhstan), in the party list of which women accounted for 60%.

The goal of the party «Vozrozhdeniye Kazakhstan» (which considers itself to be a female party only because its leader is a woman) is the fight and improvement of social standing of vulnerable population (women, disabled children, pensioners, representatives of intelligentsia). However after the elections the activity of the party has dramatically decreased, which reflects general trend in the post-election political life of many social-political associations.

In 1999 the coalition “Women’s Electoral Initiatives” devised a Program for 1999 – 2000, the aim of which is to bring up female representation level:

- In the Parliament – up to 20-30%;
- In oblast, rayon and city Maslikhats – up to 25-35%;
- In local self-governance bodies – up to 35-45%.

Basic directions of program implementation, developed by the working group of the Coalition “Women’s Electoral Initiatives” (Ye. Kozyreva (Feminist League), Yu. Zaitsev («Malvina»

magazine), A. Bakeneyeva (Almaty Women's Information Centre), G. Tlegenova (Crisis Centre for Women and Children) were as follows:

- To facilitate female electorate and to identify potential women – leaders through cascade workshops: training of trainers (local level) and female electorate in all the regions of Kazakhstan (general level – based on the principal – one workshop for 7000 potential female voters or 1000 workshops a year).
- Preparation and dissemination of information that would influence the activity of female electorate.
- Step-by-step training of women – leaders along the programs of female leadership (1 stage) and methods of running election campaigns (2 stage).
- Brining up the image of women – leaders.
- Amendment of election legislation to ensure real fair possibilities for women – candidates.

The tasks of the Coalition have been determined by the specific date – December 31, 2001. On the one hand the implementation of these tasks reflects, in our opinion, a bit too high level of future tasks and on the other hand demonstrates adequacy of gender development and reality of political activity of women's and feminist organisations in Kazakhstan. Despite the fact that political outcomes of women's movement in the Republic have not reached the level of women's political activity in the neighbouring Russia, quality characteristics of system multilevel gender development, institutional formation of women's NGOs, parties and their strategic development are much higher in comparison with other post-soviet countries.

A key factor of gender policy in Kazakhstan is that bringing up representation level of women in all the power bodies, reinforcement of the measures aimed at combating violence against women considered to be a priority. This is due to the activity of national women's movement.

If in 1996 only 6% /84/ women declared their wish to take part in the state politics then prior to parliamentary elections of 1999 women's movement became more active. Survey data for 2001 reveal that at present 82% of interviewed women insist on their participation in political activity. It should be mentioned that males have recognised the fact of female discrimination in the field of politics (72% of all the respondents) and in access to power (76%) /85/.

At present women's political activity is developing, new social-political associations are being formed. For example, in autumn 2000 there was registered a new political movement "Women of Kazakhstan" (leader – B. Bekturganova). The priorities of its activity are linked with social standing of women, consolidation of women's organisations and women representing different social groups and layers. This movement, according to the leader, is going to boost its female political activity and make women a real political force in the Republic, based on which there will be formed a party in future. At present "Women of Kazakhstan" movement has a network of regional affiliates in 10 largest cities of the country.

In November 2001 a founding meeting of "Coalition of Independent Women's Organisations" took place in Almaty. Its tasks are related to the protection and lobbying the interests of female social organisations (in the first place the regional ones) and improvement of women's status in Kazakhstan society. The Coalition will deal with the expansion of legal rights of female population, its real representation in all the spheres of professional and social life, with support to women's crediting programs. Coalition has committed itself to promoting educational, legal and financial support of women's rights for development, creativity, and freedom to realise their capacity.

Women's organisations have been at the stage of active participation in social-political processes for quite a time now and this is proved by the task they put forward as to the civil society

development in the Republic and by practical outcomes of woman's movement. Institutionalisation of women's movement in Kazakhstan is a fact and at present it is subdivided into several social-political associations and non-governmental organisations:

?) Women's parties and movements oriented at protection and lobbying general women's interests, political, economic and social right, increase of political representation of women and their participation in national decision making («Democratic Party of Women of Kazakhstan», movement «Women of Kazakhstan», party «Revival of Kazakhstan»);

b) Women's non-governmental organisations, the activity of which is aimed at tackling social-economic problems of society, family and children. Their field of activity – social adaptation, treatment, training and employment of socially vulnerable population groups (Association of parents of disabled children, Centres of social adaptation SATR (SALR) and «Kenes», Association of single mothers, Association of large family mothers, Republican society of women invalids with dependent children «Bibi-Ana» and etc.);

c) Women's business NGOs that carry out active educational activity aimed at developing business skills of unemployed women (Association of Business Women of Kazakhstan, Association of «Women entrepreneurs of Kazakhstan» and their branches in different regions and etc.);

d) Women's NGOs, priorities of which include implementation of social-cultural tasks («League of Women with Creative Initiative», «Association of Muslim Women» and etc.);

e) Women's NGOs engaged in charitable activity (Charitable organisation «Special Olympics» and etc.);

f) Feminist NGOs (Feminist League of Almaty, Feminist League of Kokshetau);

g) Women's NGOs specialising in scientific-analytical, informational and sociological support of women's movement (Alliance of Women of East-Kazakhstan oblast «Status», Almaty Informational Women's Centre, NGO «Nadya», Association of sociologists and political scientists of Almaty and etc.);

h) Women's organisation in the field of health care of women (National Association of Family Planning and etc.);

i) Crisis centre to support women and girls that have been subject to violence (Crisis centre for women and children, Crisis centre «Women friends», Feminists League and etc.);

j) Women's organisations aimed to boost women's activity (Almaty Women's Information Centre, «Women's Election Block», Centre to support women of Taldykorgan and etc.)

k) Organisations carrying out gender education and gender research (Almaty Women's Information Centre, Feminist League, Association of Women of Intellectual Labour, Gender information-analytical Centre in Karaganda and etc.);

l) Ecological NGO (International Ecological Association of Women of the East).

The majority of women's NGOs carry out diverse activity, which exceeds the framework of their specialisation. For example «League of Women with Creative Initiative» together with the authorities of the National Female Pedagogic University is successfully implementing project on counselling female students on all the issues related to reproductive health. NGO «The Union of Nuclear Tests Victims» and «Women of the East» work in the field of rehabilitation of women and children that have suffered from nuclear tests.

Characteristic feature of contemporary women's movement is that as a result of their activity a number of women's associations managed to set up resource basis for their wide regional network all over Kazakhstan. At present organisation and holding training on female political leadership with the support of international organisation are major practical directions of

women's NGOs. Nowadays NGOs are basic mechanisms, through which women are able to socialise and get political education that fosters skills of political activity, competition and election campaigns.

Unfortunately such form of activity of women's organisations is basically of sporadic character despite the urgency of such education.

At present the most pertinent and disputable issue in Kazakhstan is the problem of gender quota at the level of political representation. Women's NGOs address the government with the requirement to consider this question and introduce quota system via the Law on equal rights and possibilities that is being developed by the Parliamentary group «Otbasy».

Women have equal rights to take part in political life of the society especially given that women's NGOs are in the majority. Rapid growth of women's organisations started in 1995. Political practice based on the election campaigns of 1994 and 1999 allowed accumulating considerable political experience, which is the prerequisite of women's influence upon state policy and social processes.

«On the one hand the growth of women's NGOs is the result of accumulation of women's problems and on the other hand it is the growth of political self-consciousness of women. Today women understand that they need to be integrated into the society, they are trying to participate in the new regime political structures. Today NGO have the possibility to work together with the government in order to increase the level of civic activity and societal integration of women» /86/.

Strong nation-wide women's movement as a political subject, able to consolidate female community, possessing adequate resource and information-organisational infrastructure and able with time to become independent political force may be considered as the most promising and flexible model of democratic institutions in Kazakhstan.

In the opinion of the leader of «Women of Kazakhstan» B.Bekturganova: The task of the movement is to influence politics not «top-downwards» by way of pressurising on the central power institutions (this is the task of the later stage) but rather from the «bottom», i.e. through female population as a social basis of a democratic right. This is very important because the 'bottom-upwards' activity of women in the field of their political rights protection has gone down» /87/.

In order to widen the scope of women's movement and its results it is important, in our mind, to create necessary conditions and encourage regional and local women's parties and NGOs, informational-educational and advisory centres.

In order for women's movement to become important political force it is necessary to ensure further consolidation, especially in the view of future election campaign.

However at present the following factors as female conservatism, female competition, unwillingness to give up to a woman competitor even if the latter comes up with a noble initiative, the implementation of which will require concerted efforts, are an obstacle. This is confirmed by the survey results among women – parliamentary deputy candidates at the elections of 1999 (detailed analysis is given in the next chapter of this research).

Besides that conservative approach to women both on the part of society and on the part of female population itself hinders further consolidation of women. In our opinion women's movement will not achieve any tangible results unless women themselves get to understand the importance and necessity of their participation in social-political life and start fighting for their real promotion into all the power and management structures.

Gulsara Tlenchieva points out some of the negative factors that hinder effective development of women's movement: «influence of old structures and leaders upon political activity of new women leaders; lack of financial support in promoting women into power bodies; immaturity of public opinion and women – potential politicians to overcome gender balance». In her opinion women themselves think that among «major reasons of that are: lack of political participation of women in Kazakhstan (women are afraid of negative judgement on the part of the family, society and are waiting to be invited to take part in the politics); women find it difficult to combine such type of activity with family responsibilities; women are not allowed or pushed out from managerial and prestigious positions; women are not very well informed about political and social processes /88/.

In our opinion implementation of constructive norms, bringing them up to the level of every day life is the key prerequisite of basic women's movement formation. We think that power structures in the present day Kazakhstan should be gender balanced. Prevalence of males in them causes misbalance and disharmony in decision-making, since interests and priorities of women are not taken into account by such a power. With mentality like that it takes time and efforts to resolve issues of social, ethical and moral nature.

Training women to promote them to the upper decision-making level – is a multistage and multifaceted work. It requires a whole system of measures. It's place is within the entire system of managerial staff training but at the same time it is necessary to take into account obvious peculiarities determined by the prevailing stereotypes, psychology and experience. Women's NGOs can play rather a significant role in this field. Working in these organisations means a good school for women on top of seminars, workshops, courses and traineeship for them.

One of the first steps to be made is networking. These networks do not necessarily need to have general political goals. They will be just groups of women that will get together to decide how to promote specific issues like, for example, women's reproductive rights or the rights of business women. For instance the Fair of Goods and Ideas conducted by women's organisations in Almaty in 1999 had the final goal to promote women to the decision making level by way of economic policy.

A key role in self-organised women's political movement in Kazakhstan in our opinion is to be played by women's political party able to lobby women's social interests through parliamentary activity. Such a party should implement centrist policy to achieve gender balance.

In the course of general election campaign in 1999 and during the first Kazakhstan Fair of Goods and Ideas the Association of Sociologists and Political Scientists in Almaty carried out a survey to determine the rating of deputy candidates and parties participating in the elections. The results of the survey turned out to be quite encouraging for women's party "Political Alliance of Women's Organisations of Kazakhstan". Interviewed women proved to be in favour of youth movement "For the Future of Kazakhstan", next to it is the women's political party (Attachment E, F) /89/.

In the opinion of leaders of Association of Business Women of Kazakhstan the capacity of women's NGOs «should be reinforced in such a way that they have adequate institutional and political force to ensure powerful women's movement. This will contribute to education reinforcement in the field of gender discrimination at work and finally will push the governments to wards meeting international human rights standards. Wide scale movement for women's rights will provide people with the means to determine independent policy and community mobilisation for changes, which will contribute to the creation of civil society and a more viable democracy» /90/.

Analysing different stages of women's movement formation and development in Kazakhstan alongside with the aforementioned positive factors it is possible to determine the causes of insufficient political reputation and weight. In the first place current women's movement reflects general trends in political pluralism and party development in Kazakhstan.

Based on the criteria of West and Blumberg, which determine the forms of «women's social protest» («participation and leadership in organised barrier elimination, which threatens women's economic development, well-being of their families and children; participation in social protest movement of nationalist or racial-ethnic character; leadership and mass participation in wide-scale movement like peace-keeping, environmental and movement for the improvement of social education system and etc.; active fight for the rights and for different specific women's groups (divorced, elderly and etc.)) /91/, it is possible to state that regardless active functioning of women's organisations in Kazakhstan, their potential will allow them in future to overcome a number of factors, hindering political activity of women's movement.

The following factors hindering women's movement in my mind are as follows:

- almost total lack of clear political position on issues of political and social-economic development of society;
- lack of specific mechanisms aimed at elimination of gender misbalance in society in general and at decision making level, quotas limiting political representation of the number of women;
- inadequate level of political consolidation of women's organisations;
- lack of clear identification of women's organisations with both specific common social-political interests of female population and women's electorate with women's movement;
- insufficiency of financial-material resources of women's NGOs that rely mainly upon international organisations and funds;
- lack of active political initiatives on the part of female electorate;
- lack of general idea able to consolidate both women's organisations and female population.

In order to reinforce women's movement in Kazakhstan it is necessary to develop and implement the following program measures:

- To set up the basis for the national system of integration of women's population into the processes of social development.
- Promotion and education of female population on urgent political problems, legislative basis to ensure the rights of women, including political ones.
- Expansion of political activity at the regional and local levels, reinforcement of the activity co-ordination of women's parties, movements and NGOs.
- Introduction of parliamentary hearings on gender policy and human rights.
- Encouragement of bottom-upwards initiatives, lobbying women's interests at the level of representative and public bodies.
- Organisation of monitoring in the field of gender relations.
- Education-methodological and training activity (schools of leadership, business, training courses and etc.);
- Introduction of gender courses into the system of education;
- Organisation of general legal education of female electorate.
- Development of social order practice, implementation of projects jointly with the public bodies.

Besides that women's movement should pay special attention to collaboration with «male» political parties. The latter while understanding the importance of bringing over women's electorate nevertheless do not try to develop adequate strategy or simply study the experience of related western democracies. Most probably this happens because of the lack of knowledge about

the ways to involve these or those population categories that are not within the structure of the given party. Again, men are not willing to share even a part of their party power responsibilities and give away «their» places in party lists. However, while bearing small losses parties could gain more: mass participation, reputation, and competitiveness and hence access to power. Byelorussian researcher Irina Chikalova states that «since gender causes obvious interests among political parties in Western countries the study of the extent it is taken into account in politics and in practical actions on the one hand helps to better understand peculiarities of their work and on the other hand specific nature and diversity of its interpretation determines the ways, peculiarities and direction of political actions» /92/.

Democratic processes going on in Kazakhstan cover all the spheres of social life, in which women's movement is acting, in order to overcome traditional myths about the role of women in society. At present a new model of social development is being formed and elimination of public paternalism must become a motivation for self-actualisation of women's movement. At present in Kazakhstan there are about one hundred women's NGOs. Participation of women in political processes broadens democratic basis of Kazakhstan society. However at present it is necessary to promote and to form women-politicians based not only on gender but select promising from political point of view and competent women – leaders. The policy of «positive discrimination» (or positive preference) will make it possible to considerably increase resource potential in order to ensure higher women's political representation.

2.2. Women's Political Participation in the Republic of Kazakhstan

The state structure is formed by the election procedure or by giving plenary powers to the officials. This is done via voting process of authorized persons and is based on the condition that per each presented mandate two or more candidates may claim. Election procedure forms different boards of public power – parliament, heads of states, sometimes governments or local municipal councils.

The elections are the very mechanism with the help of which representation of social groups or citizens may be gained. While electoral campaign the populace chooses its representatives and mandates them to give effect to their sovereign rights. This time the elections do not estrange the populace sovereignty due to the fact that representatives have the only right – to realize the existing sovereignty on the territory of the country in the Constitution frames.

Scientists throughout the Globe investigate the problem of increasing the governmental structures effective work but little attention is paid to staff gender though this very factor influences greatly effectiveness or their work efforts and really is one of the main features.

At present the processes of role distribution between men and women influence political and governmental spheres, the latter are understood as self-governing public institution. Men's exclusive prerogative to be elected into the corridors of power is limited by females providing themselves an access to the Institutions of power and the right for active participation in the political processes.

Such modernization occurred as the result of feminist persistent actions in the USA and West Europe and also due to general democratic changes. A woman became not only the object of politics, important element of electorate and addressee of state program specific actions but an active and influential participant of the political process itself and governmental running.

In many countries of the Globe and not only in the democratically developed a great quantity of women appeared at the political stage providing by this the radical movement of all women

problems spectra: from legal provision quality up to real changes in the economy sphere, social institutions and other public processes.

Since 1970-s the subject of women's intensive participation in the political issues became investigating problem number one in the West. That was due to the fact that political issues are the sphere of prominent gender restrictions where the set of different social-gender roles has maximum contradictions. If cultural-historic tradition oriented women to private (family) sphere of life, and men to social (public), then politics is that pole of public life to where women are strictly limited to enter. And in case women appear on the political arena they are often limited by marginal positions and represent in the political life "women's roles", not very prestigious and valid.

Under the feminist movement the situation is sharply changed in the West. The reason: women fight for the possibility to enter public spheres. And this factor demands legal possibilities and changing thoughts concerning gender roles. Not only the movement itself became a political subject but also it created new possibilities for women to participate in the institutional politics. And though up to now the represented number of men in politics is higher, the situation changes drastically. More and more countries start the positive actions politics including the quota and strategy system. They work out the training programs for women-leaders, and make definite steps to provide a valid equality between men and women.

Just at the same time a whole set of factors – the absence of human and financial resources for political career training, not good responsibility of officials who are to support the sex equalities and women's participation in social life – don't permit to put programs into practice and to realize the initiatives aimed at increasing women's participation in decision adoption.

The importance and great effect of women participating in political life is conformed by scientists' point of view, which in its turn is based on the results of a number of researchers. Thus Kyrgyz researcher Svetlana Osaulenko supposes "women's role in politics is a bit different. They insert to the political life the feeling of family protection, the absence of confrontation, stability and balance /94/."

Saule Buldekpaeva keeps the same position: "Women's participation in managing at all levels is a stabilizing factor. There where women's member in governing structures is 30-40% the society's development is stable and it is socially oriented"/95/.

A well-known Russian researcher Nadezhda Shvedova having conducted a wide range of gender research sticks to the opinion that " women introduce new elements in political culture because they initiate gender concern. It means: a) the society has men's and women's populace interests. And phenomena occurring in the society cause unequal reactions of men and women; b) women produce initiatives which are close to them. In its turn women interests transform in to state political courses; c) it is easier to come into contact with parliament via women.

Due to the fact that the majority of women became members of Parliament being elected via lower level public organizations or they work until being promoted in local power structures, the public may reach access to bill and law introducing via such women-members of Parliament /96/.

We may observe relatively slow but stable tendency to the increasing number of women in the highest legislative body in the world. Overseas researchers try to answer the question "Why the number of women is limited in the Parliament?" and explain this by many factors: historical, political, social, cultural, ideological, by religious background of definite country's life and also by peculiarities of institutional systems, election culture, mechanisms specifically invented to ease women's access to Parliament, the dynamic grows of civil society and others.

As historic experience certifies any attempt made by women to exercise a new social role all the time is accompanied by different degree of disapproval on the side of conservative men's part of society, who think it be infringement on their right and are afraid of losing their usual privileges. We witnessed this process when women struggled for the right to be educated, to work and to participate in elections. The same process when women reached the political handles of governing,

Not touching upon the whole set of factors which are obstacles on women's way to Parliament, Russian politologist Nadezhda Shvedova draws the readers' attention to the aspect which is poorly discussed at scientific circles. It is the nature of electoral system. According to the research summary, the type of electoral system taking into consideration the historic moment of development, national and cultural peculiarities may be positive or negative for women-candidates /97/.

Another aspect, being under research of overseas and domestic scientists is the problem connected with the level of women's representation in authority power bodies and their social-economic life. Conducting a number of researches analytics investigating this problem came to a conclusion that this leads to the narrowing of possibilities for social group interests articulation, connected with striking majority of women in budget spheres such as education, Medicare, municipal service, etc., and that the process of narrowing the canals for representative democracy due to sex is base of conflicts in different group interests correlation. Also, "antigender" attitude in political representation is a part of social-political processes revealing discrimination increase in sex gender practice, the decreasing of social-economic women status" /98/.

Western politologists made significant scientific researches, "i.e. different social group interests correlation, including sex are condition of democratic stability" /99/.

We have got one more important summary made by researchers: "Women are absolutely necessary in wide powers cause they are objectively the catalysts of changes. In other words women must go to power governmental structures because their being there is objective urgent condition for better women populace situation in the society in the whole and it means the same for every woman" /100/.

We watch the same process in Kazakhstan when the number of women is constantly decreasing in the Parliament despite active and conscious participation of women at last elections of 1999.

Due to the result of enforcing the presidential-executive power Parliament lost the majority of its power potentials after having received the status of highest legislative body of power. Taking into consideration that in our country supreme sovereign power of law is not always legal, and this is due to a number of executive power bodies we may come to a conclusion that democratic institutions in Kazakhstan still have no real power. And it means that even sharp increase of women representation in Parliament and maslikhats will never yield to women the equal with men authority power. The problem of women participating in politics should be solved more widely using possibilities of women appointment into the executive power bodies – which is the most corrupted and closed system of statewide power.

If in Kazakh SSR up to 1989 due to quota system women comprised not less then 35% of Republic Supreme Council, then in 1991 that correlation dropped to 7% and later for a short time being increased to 15% in 1995 and again dropped to 11% in 1999.

That is women while the years of sovereignty despite proclaimed democratic reforms did not receive the access to wide powers. One may assume that general electoral lethargy made an impact at women's activity as candidates to deputy corps. The voters were also passive. Also, due to national mentality in our country stereotypes are still exist based on sex and gender. Thus

the number of women in Kazakhstan is a bit more than men (51,8%) but possessing the same with men voting rights they gave votes to men not to women. That's one of the reasons of so low women representation at State and government plenary powers.

According to Article 33 Republic of Kazakhstan Constitution “ Republic of Kazakhstan Constitution has the right to participate in governing the state affairs ingeniously and via its representatives, ... to elect and to be elected into the state body and local self-governing municipal councils, have the equal right to equal access to state service” /101/. But Republic of Kazakhstan Constitution has no references at discrimination of women”. Though international agreements in the field of human rights signed by Kazakhstan have priorities comparing to domestic legal rights, additional measures should be adopted concerning the perfection of existing laws and also elaborating and adoption on new social laws aimed at sex discrimination struggle.

In accordance to “Convention canceling all discrimination forms related to women” (the so-called “Women Convention”) adopted by the general Assembly UN Organization in 1979 and ratified by Kazakhstan on June 26, 1998 “the states-participants acquire all correlating measures to cancel discrimination related to women in political and social state life and in particular provide women with equal to men rights: a) to vote at all elections and public referendums and to be elected into all publicly elected organs; b) to participate in the forming and putting into life governmental policy and occupy the State positions and also to implement all state functions at all levels of state governing; c) to participate in non-governmental activities in different organizations and associations occupied with country's public political life problems” /102/.

The Constitution and Kazakhstani legal status support with equal rights all their citizens despite sex and age. The State provides men and women with equal rights and possibilities for men and women at their nomination for the election at Republic of Kazakhstan Presidential Post, into Parliament, Maslihats and other governmental power boards. Constitutional law “About election in the Republic of Kazakhstan” is the warranty for all citizens in our country to participate in the elections after the age of 18 not depending upon origin, social occupied position and private property possessions, sex, race, nationality, language, attitude to religion, persuasions, place of living and any other circumstances. But Kazakhstan has no special measures aimed at acceleration to establish actually the real equality between men and women. Constitutional equality guaranties are said to be enough.

As for the human rights Kazakhstan joined to 30 international treaties and conventions, UN convention concerning women's right is among those joint “About prohibiting of all discrimination form concerning women”, “ About women's political rights”, “About citizenship of married women”.

Despite all measures adopted by the state the sociological questionnaire results made by politologists and sociologists Association, “out of 1000 questionnaired women only about 5% know that Convention about prohibiting of all discrimination forms concerning women (the so-called Women Convention is in use). Not more than 2,2% are aware that this convention was signed by Kazakhstan” /103/.

At present new laws are being worked out “About equal rights and possibilities”, “About Children's Rights”, “About Family Abusement”, etc.

As the sign of recognition “the leader's great services in the matter of improving the gender equality problems at international and national layers” Kazakhstan is awarded with memorial medal “Women who make difference”, issued by International non-governmental organization

“Women Status Committee”. Despite Kazakhstan such countries as Finland, Austria, and Liechtenstein also became prizewinners /104/.

In accordance with the demands of Article 2 from Geneva Convention “about annihilating laws which discriminate women” the national legal status is under gender expertise aiming at family and women interests lobbying is being held at RK Parliament and a special group of deputies “Otbasý” (“Family”) gathered 23 deputies from both chambers. Under deputies’ initiatives at present a law about equal rights and possibilities is being worked out.

Despite this at Parliament subcommittee on women’s affairs is created connected with women affairs, families, youth, tourism and sport, and a woman is the leader. For the first time in Kazakhstani history a new article was included into the indicative plan of country’s social-economic development for 2001. That passage is entitled “Women’s participation in Development” and it will be preserved in the governmental 5-year plan per 2001-2005.

We think that results of the mentioned above sociological questionnaire are very interesting. The data certifies that “out of 1000 inquested women only 1,6% consider that they have equal with men rights to participate in governing the state affairs, 4,4% - the right to be appointed to higher leading positions at the state service, 6,5% - the right to be elected in representative bodies, 9,5% - the right to work in state structures”/105/.

However, the results of the first questionnaire display that the overwhelming majority of respondents agree “to women role be ordinary electorate (91,1 %)” /106/.

The RK Presidential and Agency of State Affairs service National Committee of family and women affairs activity is aimed at providing equal women’s access to legislative power body. But at practice, the women’s share in power body at present is lower than at recent past. Women’s representativity at all levels of power is extreme low. Women-specialists with higher and secondary education obviously prevail in wide representation at state managing boards (more than 40%), but their part among the first leaders is obscure – less than 9%.

Among the directors of the departments women’s share comprises 15%. There are no women among oblast akims (governors) and only one woman is appointed as akim of a city. There are only three women in the Republic of Kazakhstan Government: Minister of Labor and Social Defense, Minister of Education and Science and Minister without a department – the National Committee of family and women’s affairs Chairman. Four women head the state committees and agencies, 10 women are vice-ministers, oblast akim deputies. A woman is appointed as President of National Academy of Science in the Republic of Kazakhstan /107/.

In 1997 among the first leaders and their deputies at local state bodies women comprise 24,5% /108/.

Low level of political representation of women is also observed at the layer of political posts, i.e. appointed by the Republic of Kazakhstan President; appointed and elected by RK Parliamentary Chambers and their Chairmen; being according to Constitution the President and Governmental representatives; heading the control executive bodies and boards and their deputies.

On 1.10.2000 the women’s share in the RK state staff who occupies political posts was 248 persons (or 8,4%), and out of the general number of Kazakhstani State staff 32645 persons (54%) /109/.

In the judicial system out of 1866 judges 917 are women, out of 48 members of the RK Supreme Court – 14 women, the Supreme Court chairman deputy is in their number, 8,5% out of Court Chairmen Board number.

The RK Parliament women’s presence (data of 2000) comprise 11,3% (13 women of 115 deputies), in Senate – 13,2% (5 out of 38), in Mazhlis – 10,4% (8 out of 77), and three out of six

women in Senate were introduced according to Presidential list /110/. By the way in connection with one of woman-senator leaving at the end of 2001 for the State service, the percentage of women representation at the Parliament became lower (10,4%).

Women at maslikhats comprise the minority, the following data reflecting the general tendency in this sphere certifies: at Karaganda oblast – at regional maslikhats – 19 women out of 162 deputies (11,7%), in oblast – 3 out of 43 (7%), in Mangistau oblast correlatively 7 out of 63 (11,1%), 3 out of 30 (10%); in Akmolinskaya oblast 33 out of 181 (18,2%), 9 out of 36 (25%); in Kyzylorda oblast 6 out of 25 (24%), 23 out of 141 (16,3%); in Zhambyl oblast 22 out of 44 (15,3%), 5 out of 35 (14,3%) /111/.

However, in a number of regions despite relatively low level of women's political representation according to the results of previous elections the certain increase of the given data occurred. For example, "in North Kazakhstan oblast out of registered deputy candidates to oblast maslikhat 14 women, 6 of them became deputies (43%), to town maslikhat out 8 women – 6 (75%) are elected deputies and in regional maslikhats correlatively 32 women (68%) of the registered candidates number. It allows increasing the number of women representation at oblast, town and regional maslikhats per one and a half. Their number was 19,4%, 31,6% and 38% corresponding to general amount of present convocation deputies.

At this very period the women representation increased in the boards of judicial branch. At town and regional courts of North Kazakhstan oblast the judge position is occupied by 45 women or 47% of general staff. Two women are chairmen at the courts.

The increase of political women's activity in the region is certified by the growing number of women in executive branches of power, at the level of decision adoption as well. According to Statistic Board data in the North Kazakhstan oblast the RK Statistic Agency at present in different state organs the number of administrative state staff is 1405 out of them 816 women (58%) and that is higher than in the last year per 3%. The share of women who are working at leading administrative positions is stable and high. Thus, among 14 town and rayon's akims deputies on social issues 9 women (64%), and out of 14 leading akim staff 6 women (42,8%).

Among the leaders in independent state organs of towns and oblast districts women comprise 23,2%, among other oblast boards leaders – 25%, among their deputies – 44%. Among the department chiefs at oblast boards – 57% of women.

New system of hiring to the state service as it was mentioned already gave women the possibility to actively participate at the competition for occupying vacant administrative state posts. During the current year 415 participated (32% out of general number), passed the competitive selection 402 women (60%).

During the last year a positive tendency of increasing the number of women in akim rural districts and villages was marked. If in 2000 20 women have been working at these boards (10%), then at present they are 29 (14,5%). One woman is akim of large rural region" /112/.

However, even insignificant increase of women's participation in definite RK oblasts demonstrates only relative success. And in present situation as the form of transitive mechanism it's necessary to introduce quota method for women's participation in the election process. In October 1999 at Mazhlis elections were 500 competitors and the number of women – 89 (17,8% out of the deputy's quantity). The deputy mandate got only 8 (or 10,4 % of Mazhlis staff).

Sociological interpretation of preelectoral campaign results certifies "20,7% of respondents are aware of the fact that women were prosecuted by political motifs at the places of their living. More than 70 women pointed out that they personally got warnings and threats to violate for the participation in social-political activity on the side of internal ministry structures and busy

officials from akimats. 27 women were under subjection of criminal and administrative punishment on political motifs /113/.

With the help of empirical data it was established that the number of women whose election rights were violated during the presidential election campaign ranged from 0% at rural Kokshetau district (Kenesary village) up to 22,6% in Uralsk; during the Parliamentary elections from 0% at Kenesary village up to 19,2% in Almaty /114/.

The authors of investigation think that at present it's necessary to research the problem of women quota introduction at political institutions and executive power boards.

One mandate electoral system as it was shown in the first chapter far not of being neutral in its influence to women political representation. Also according to Central Asian agency of political investigations analysis "the violation of election legal status in Kazakhstan during the voting process and counting of voices became traditional". /115/. Obviously the voting process is not transparent and equally just to candidates-men and candidates-women. The interfering while election process and even before the elections on the part of executive power became a norm as great number of women participating in October 1999 elections stated. According to the data of the mentioned above sociological questionnaire conducted by "Kazakhstani women": 22,2% of women junked with obstacles made by akimats; 27% - with ministry of internal affairs; 8% - with fiscal organs; 3,2% - with election campaign committees; 9,5% pointed other obstacles /116/.

There is no joint state politics in achieving paritet representation at appointed and elected posts, every state structure settles the problem on their own. The RK Presidential National committee of family and women established in December, 1998 and given great proxy in National plan on making better the position of women in Kazakhstan has a task to expand women's representation in the State governing and helps to settle this task. However, not having independent budget and respectable executive board, Committee is obliged to keep a constant control, on the activity of other state organs in this direction and influence only via hearings of ministry leaders and other boards at their meetings, via collaboration with women's non-governmental organizations, international organizations and mass media.

The highest-level appointments (Prime-ministers, the National Bank Chairman, General Procurator, etc) are made by President on the base of Parliamentary agreement. However the process of vacating these posts is done without President's agreement.

The Republic of Kazakhstan President out of seven Senate deputies of the first convocation (1995-1999) whom he appointed according to RK Constitution selected 4 women. In 1999 President appointed 3 women in the frames of his quota. If it had not been this fact then the quantity of women in the Parliament would be even low than present 11%. The situation demanded quota method introducing for women's participation in the process of elections. All in all the number of women in both Parliament chambers is 13. As a result of maslikhat elections 639 women became deputies or actually half of the registered candidates.

Since 2000 a new model of appointing to the state service is acting. It is based on the principles of equality rights per every Kazakhstani citizen to the State service access and gives the possibility to occupy higher posts according to their capabilities and professional education.

The 2000 in general amount of candidates per vacant position 50% were women. 4,2 thousand women became the winners of the competitions or 50% of all participants. 419 women were taken to employees' reserve, which is half of reserve list.

Despite this according to President decision at ministries and departments and also in oblasts the reserve of women was made for appointing them on the level of adopting decisions. At present

the general number of all state office employees in Kazakhstan comprises 60,5 thousand persons out of which 33 thousand women, which is equal to 54%. The women's share among the office employees per all layers of the state governing is more than 40%. Three women are Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of our country in other states: France, Israel and also constant representatives of Kazakhstan in UN Organization /117/.

According to non-governmental leaders "Discrimination in women's position in Kazakhstan is not so obvious as in other countries of Central Asia or Islamic East. But the problem of women in our Republic has specific features and this is embodied in vague definition. In the conversations about equal men and women political rights the secret sly logic is hidden. It's like this: the so-called equality of sex became a new form of women's discrimination and it distinctly displays itself at political market. The vivid example – sphere of State power and governing. During last years the norm of women representation in executive and legislative branches decayed. Women remain to be media of fewer political-rights guarants. And it is high time to discuss the problem of quota for women to participate in political institutions.

Monitoring in the Republic displayed extremely low level of right consciousness and women's political and legal culture. The direction for having political rights and freedoms in women's media is limited in scale of spreading and is an exclusion rather than rule. But Kazakhstani women don't struggle for female politics. Even in their radical demands they are sound minded. What they do really wish – to return law command /118/.

As it follows from analysis of political situation presented by ? ? ? ? ? no workability and violating of existing legal procedure is the great problem in Kazakhstan. Great number of laws is not executed and violated due to different reasons. In general the violators are state official employees who escape very easily the responsibility for violating the laws; ... the imperfect legal system also helps the fact that very often the creation of law is determined by different groups activities providing the lobbying of their interests. And as a result the adopted laws very often have no uniform strategy and don't take into consideration the national general interests. Also due to the fact that State is out of the society's control, the powerful circles are not interested in execution of laws. More than this they even don't make attempts to support the authority of law in the society. While this the state boards adopted paramount number of decrees, directions, bureaucratic inner-department acts which very often contradict to Constitution and legal status" /119/.

To realize the defense of women's rights and potential of great number of women in such condition is hardly attainable.

The general women's mass in Kazakhstan don't have the possibility to influence on problem of their everyday existence settling but women are deprived of the right to express openly their opinion about events happening in the country. The wide attraction of women into the process of discussing the key political problems with the help of questionnaires, publishing the results in mass media will let the increase of women informativity in the current events, it will restore their interest to public sphere activity" /120/.

According to RK National Statistic agency the total number of voters in our country in June 1999 comprised 8358450 citizens /121/.

The RK Presidential election gathered 87% of voters. The central electoral commission never did statistics on women-voters. According to general estimation of non-governmental organization "Feminist League" – women comprise – 53% of voters. In accordance with movement "Kazakhstani women" approximately 3/4 of women participated in the Presidential election and a bit more than 2/3 Parliamentary elections /122/. That is there is definite estimation of women

participating in election if to compare with men's, not speaking about the adopted in western countries constant questionnaires during elections and consequently the gender analysis of electorate behavior.

Thus the lack of current sociological research of women's electorate behavior in the State does not produce any possibility to follow the dynamics of political preferentials of women and also does not help the political changes into wider and better participation of women in political processes.

Using the global experience we may suppose that the increase of women-representative in RK Parliament will be reflected upon the quality of laws in Parliament and correlatively on living conditions of Republic's populace.

"Long-termed stable and permanent state-institutional and legal-rights country's development is possible only in case of checked and balanced heterogeneous political system interests. The presence of optimal political instruments and erasing the contradictions via institutional power structures and legal mechanisms are the most important conditions of democratic state existence. More balanced, checked and unconflict political model is such a state system which as on institutional-legal and as on the functional-procedure level is able to flexible reaction at time challenges and balance and regulate the existing contradiction. The presented state-political system provides the mechanism of checks and balances, demonopolization of political process and in optimal forms balance heterogeneous civil society interests" /123/.

The introduction of checked and balanced gender politics, considering women's interests will permit to stabilize political processes in Kazakhstan, the adoption of preventive measures, special laws aimed at elimination of women discrimination and increasing the number of women in representative power boards and will not give the future social-political cataclysms.

One of these factors is sticking to democratic norms of men and women representation in this political body. Parliaments in developed democratic states have mechanisms of adopting the laws, which are after women's interests.

2.3. Mechanisms to Establish Party Democracy in Kazakhstan

As world practice shows achievement of high political status by women, gaining political authority by women's non-governmental organisations in many cases are determined by dynamic development and activity of civil society as well as by the openness of political promotion channels. The strategy of this promotion provides for several stages:

1 stage – political socialisation, accumulation of initial practical political experience, mastering traditions and political platform and public image formation;

2 stage – selection of promising politicians for representative participation on the part of political movements and organisations;

3 stage – vertical rotation into the public management bodies (mainly into representative and executive ones).

Many obstacles at all the levels of political promotion, which implies not only structural-institutional ones covering males as well, limit the activity of women-politicians, but also gender related barriers. This is how the system of double (and in some cases multiple) limitations on the way of women's political carrier is formed.

Women - parliamentary candidates have to overcome three serious hurdles: to make personal decision on standing for the elections; be selected by the party; and be elected by electorate /123/.

1) Decision to become a deputy candidate is made under the influence of two factors: personal ambitions and the possibility to be elected. Assessment of personal chances and the will for victory are determined by a number of possibilities: the extent to which political environment is friendly towards this woman and assessment of basic and attracted resources. The most important factors able to increase the number of women – potential parliamentary candidates - are women's movements and women's NGOs, participation in which makes it possible to increase political experience in public presentations and to form electorate's support and etc.

2) The process of candidate nomination takes place at the level of political parties and is characterised by a number of peculiarities in the sphere of participation and centralisation. On the one hand there is a real good possibility for population to participate like, for example, in primary elections in the USA and party members elections in Canada. On the other hand there are systems, in which party leaders, leaders of the national fractions or statesmen select candidates (like it is the case with the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan) and selection procedure is under the close supervision of fraction leaders. Depending on the procedures used party leaders or a considerable part of the party performs the role of censors.

Another issue is the difference between paternalist and bureaucratic systems. In a bureaucratic system the rules for candidate selection are very much specifies, standardised, clearly worded and are met by all regardless of political status. Authority is based on legislative principles. In patronage systems the rules of selection are not clearly outlined and their observation is not practically limited. Authority is mainly based on traditions or charisma of the leader rather than on legal-rational authority.

Different systems apply their own principles to candidate selection that may yield maximum benefit and the number of votes for the party. The most valuable feature is the service record of the party nominee, which influences his rating among electorate. The history of party participation and activity is important for the new candidates as well. Reputation that is normally gained through some leading position or due to the relevant profession could also be a criterion for selection.

In case a political party provokes the change of party rules and norms then chances for women at the stage of election nomination get considerably increased. The most appropriate for women is the bureaucratic system with clear rules that guarantees women's participation /124/.

According to UN recommendation «critical 30-percent threshold should be considered as a minimum share of decision-making positions that women can held at the national level... But this 30-percent threshold can be viewed as a minimum goal but not as an overall objective. However the achievement of this threshold will boost the fight for establishing complete equity» /125/.

As of the middle of 1990s it has become possible to overcome a 30% threshold (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Seychelles and Sweden). Leaders in the field of gender policy are Scandinavian countries, in which parties have accepted quota system that provides for 40-50% of women in party lists. As to the administrative-managerial level then political representation of women there at this period is much higher (15 countries) /126/.

Mechanisms targeted at overcoming 30-percent threshold made it possible for Northern European countries to come close to sustainable gender balance.

According to Interparliamentary Union the level of women's political representation in the parliaments of Norway and Finland as of June 1, 2001 was 37%, in Sweden – 43% and in Denmark – 37%. Besides that the first in the world history absolutely balanced (50% - women) cabinet of ministers has been formed in Sweden /127/.

However in conditions of the Soviet representation practice a 30% quota for women involved into management bodies was of a show character in the first place. Political promotion of women was limited either to the bottom or middle level of public management and covered mainly administrative-institutional spheres. Involvement of women into management and decision-making processes within the Soviet system was traditionally implemented through a limited participation in executive and judicial bodies whereby only males were engaged in strategic management of the state.

Gender policy in conditions of administrative-authoritarian political system implied quantitative increase of women's representation (which is in fact an indirect representation) rather than qualitative improvement and possible future prospective growth. Inconsistency of legislative and social practice was determined by discrepancies between legal equity of rights of men and women and practical equity of possibilities.

At present the system of quotas is considered as an effective regulator of political representation but the mechanism of this system is the cause of considerable political discussion. On the one hand quotas imply quantitative increase of the number of women in state power bodies and on the other hand – the mere introduction of these quotas for women is considered as discrimination against women and an ineffective measure. Previous experience (for example that of the Soviet Union) proves only qualitative breakthrough of females into politics. However the level and quality of their political qualification have not created the basis both for improvement of women's position in the society in general or for political promotion of women-politicians themselves.

It seems that UN recommendations on temporary introduction of quotas are well grounded and effective but again for a certain period of time. Women-politicians may enjoy real political importance, status and reputation but only in case their political socialisation covers all the stages of political activity thus helping them to form experience, knowledge and practical skills. When not less than 30% of all the managerial positions in legislative and executive bodies are held by this category of women only then it will be possible to speak about relative gender balance, about sustainable and effective gender policy, about the equity of rights and possibilities (including political ones) and etc.

Desirable 30% should become a multi-step threshold (bottom-upwards) that should be overcome by women themselves but not a top-downwards decision.

Strictly speaking the same factors are characteristic for male politicians as well in transition economies. Male political representation is basically formed at the expense of lineal rotation. Lack of practical knowledge of the entire spectrum of political technologies (including election ones), skills of political fight (both at pre-parliamentary and in-parliamentary stages – competition or co-operation of parliamentary fractions) makes the performance of the majority of parliaments ineffective. That is why such notions as «pocket parliament», «parliament without rights», «governmental parliament» and etc. came into being.

The decision of problems under consideration depends, in the first place, on the level of the party system development. In terms of gender problem, “civilised” political parties make it a point to involve women's electorate and to reflect its interests in their political platforms when developing their strategic plans of action. In the countries with a multiparty system mass activity

amongst women is considered to be a special task, for a party's victory as well as its defeat depends to a great extent on the support they get from the women's electorate.

A close review of programs of socialists and social democrats, mechanisms they use to involve women into their political activity, into management structures give us a vivid example of the fact that during this period parties become very flexible and tend to change their tactics in relation to women.

In new conditions many political parties have revised their relations with women's electorate because it ensures by fifty per cent successful outcome of election campaign for them and under certain demographic situation by a larger degree.

In 1983 Norwegian Labour party adopted the program under which "at least 40% of both sexes were to be represented in elections and in nominations".

In 1988 Danish social-democratic party declared: «Each sex has the right for representation of at least 40% of social-democrat candidates in local and regional elections». In case there is not enough number of candidates of each sex then this right is completely implemented». This rule that was valid for internal party bodies as well was abated in 1996.

French Socialist Party has a 20% quota for women in case of party elections and a 30% quota in case of local elections.

German Social-democratic party fraction in Bundestag includes only 16% of women and the party determined the task to increase the quota up to 40%.

Italian Communist Party consists of women by 38%, and during parliamentary elections of 1987 it came up with the list of their deputy nominees, which included on the average, 30% of women and in some nominating districts up to 50% of women.

The New Democratic Party of Canada has for ten years been practising the rule according to which all the party committees and executive bodies should be gender balanced both at the national and regional levels. In line with the Party platform that was adopted in 1991 women have to account for half of the party leadership. But this situation is to be achieved in a gradual way. This resulted in profound political and cultural changes: left parties are becoming main channel through which the interests of women and women themselves enter "big politics" /128/.

In 1994 Swedish Social-Democratic Party came up with the principle that "every second nominee in the list should be a woman".

At present the majority of political parties consider it to be their priority task to ensure gender equity.

In democratic countries the formation of gender politics implies the necessity of mechanisms targeted at practical gender development restructuring. If in the majority of countries gender policy and its development provides for women franchise then creation of favourable conditions and capacity for women's suffrage as well as for women's promotion could be found in a limited number of countries.

The example of Norway shows the advantages of clear-cut and precise procedures. The country also practices private or closed lists of proportional-representative system. Nomination starts with the party committees in each of the nominating districts, which come up with a certain number of candidates in the lists. Committee recommendations are passed over to the district congress, which gradually approves of the list. Local Party members nominate congress participants at their local meetings.

Under such system even prior to quota implementation women have the opportunity to determine their priorities, based on which they can put forward their political proposals and demands. Effort mobilisation determines further committee recommendations, and at a later stages those of

congresses as well. In case the Committee refuses to take into account the requirements put forward, they may organise women – party members and maximise the participants of the party meeting dealing with the selection of Congress delegates. This is how the system guarantees the selection of those candidates that will vote for women. This procedure is disputable enough but very often the mere threat of mobilisation is ample enough to make the party meet the requirements of women's representation when nominating candidates

3) Chances to be elected. The votes – is the final barrier on the way to the parliament. The majority of the election researches in countries with sustainable democracy state that elective body basically vote for this or that party rather than for individual candidates. This kind of distribution is characteristic for electoral systems that make use of closed lists of proportional representation. In that case there is no reason why electorate should be viewed as serious opponents of women's representation.

The major stage is the nomination by the party. However in a number of countries the importance of personal voting for the candidates seems to be quite disputable. Regardless this fact researches say that even in case the attitude of electorate to a specific candidate does not politically matter much this factor seems to be very important for the party itself and that it influences the accuracy with which candidates able to improve chances for election are selected.

Even in the countries with the practice of vote-taking single mandate districts, which increase specifically the chances of some political leaders, the experience of working with the voters supporting women – politicians proved to be successful.

At the beginning of 1970s women organised successful campaigns for women's political promotion. In 1971 during local elections women's representation in some districts went up from 15-20% to prevailing majority, which is the pride of women's movement in Norway even now, because it has managed to prove its political preeminence during general elections.

Thus, in terms of barrier overcoming the most important stage for women's political promotion in the countries with developed democracy is motivating women to stand for election and to stimulate the party to her further nomination.

Regardless the measures taken to improve gender policy, representation of women decision-makers at the national and international levels is still low. This seems to be true, given the fact that parliamentary corps and more so managerial staff in many countries are the monopoly of men. For example, according to statistic data for 1999:

?) On the average globally representation of women did not surpass 13%, regardless the fact that women account for the majority of constituency in almost every country;

b) Only 10 women were Heads of the State and the Government in Bangladesh, Guyana, Ireland, Latvia, New Zealand, Panama, San-Marino, Sri Lanka (President and the Prime-Minister) and Switzerland, which differs from the situation in 1995: ten women high rank politicians – four Presidents (Iceland, Ireland, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka), six Prime-Ministers (Bangladesh, Dominica, Norway, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Turkey).

One of the phenomena of the newest political history is the emergence of women's political leadership of the highest level in Asian countries, especially in the south-eastern region (Turkey, Pakistan, Indonesia, Philippines, India, Sri Lanka and etc.). Local promotion of women to the top of the countries with traditional mentality has to a great extent predetermined the development of global political processes.

If we look at the history then we may notice that political 'star' of many women appeared after the tragic death of their spouses or relations, former politicians (Indira Ghandi, Leader of the Indian National Congress and later on Indian Prime-Minister, Italian Sonya Ghandi, Leader of

the same party; the first woman – President of the Philippine Karason Akino and ex – Prime-Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto and etc.).

Besides that we may find historical examples of the cases when after the end of political career of husbands – politicians their wives became far more effective and acknowledged leaders of political parties and movements (for example, currently 11% of party leaders in the world are women).

Characteristically, promotion of women – leaders in this region is determined by the traditional system of tribal relations and clannish links. However practice reveals that women usually came to power at some turning points of the national history, including coups and dictatorship overthrows. Nevertheless, many experts recognise effective governance of the aforementioned women politicians.

The world history when considering national development reveals that the action policy of women leaders differed by greater flexibility, mobility and original approaches. In crisis times women – politicians applied get-tough approaches that required considerable political confidence and responsibility, which men of these countries have failed to demonstrate. Decisive political leadership styles could be found in the history of many countries, including monarchic systems, when women – leaders have managed not only to localise political instability and economic crises but to lead their respective countries as far as advanced international positions.

?) In total 6777 women used to hold positions in the upper houses or in the senate while the number of men was 56397; in all the world parliaments men account for 88,3 per cents and women for 11,7 percents;

?) Women in ministerial offices made up a little more than 7 per cents. It should be mentioned here that in the majority of cases women – ministers used to be responsible for social sector, including education, health, culture, youth policy, family and women's affairs and etc.

If to use data for 1995 then «specific weight of women in administrative and managerial bodies made up 14 per cents, in parliaments - 10 per cents and in the ministerial office - 6 per cents.

In developing countries only one in every seven administrative or managerial positions is occupied by a woman.

In 55 countries of the world women are not to be found in the parliament at all or they account for less than 5 per cent of seats in it. These countries include not only very poor countries like Bhutan and Ethiopia but also successful enough countries like Greece, Kuwait, Ethiopia, Republic of Korea and Singapore /129/.

This data confirm the fact that women make half of the constituency, the actual political space is the monopoly of males, for 90% of seats in the parliaments of the world and 94% in the national governments belong to them. Practice shows that franchise itself does not guarantee equal political opportunities for women's political activity.

Regardless all the progress in gender potential development the participation of women in political decision making, in shaping social and economic development course of their countries is still very limited. Research carried out on the initiative of Interparliamentary Union for half a century after the end of the Second World war shows that the number of the sovereign states, in which there is a parliament (supreme representative body personifying legislative power), has grown seven times. The proportion of women – parliamentarians for this period has grown only by four times. If in 1945 women in parliaments of different countries of the world made up only 3 % then in 1995 women accounted for 11,6 % in 176 parliaments of the world. Their number among senators was even less and made up only 9,4 %.

To determine the scope of women's political participation UN experts developed an indicator of women empowerment (IWE) reflecting representation of women in different parliaments, the proportion of them in administrative and managerial offices, within the structure of economically active labour force and in the national income. The countries of Northern Europe - Norway and Sweden are leaders in the field of gender policy, for they are the countries, in which gender balanced political system is formed allowing to introduce effective mechanisms of gender policy. In a multiparty system the movement for the rights of the women enjoys high reputation.

Scandinavian countries carry out national policy, which includes elimination of gender misbalance in terms of responsibilities at work and in the family, creation of necessary conditions and granting ample opportunities in all the public sectors. Northern-European countries have ensured equal learning opportunities, have carried out massive educational work to increase political culture of women, raising their awareness as to the importance of women's participation in elections. A real good result of effective interaction between the state and civil society is overcoming a 30-percent barrier political women's representation.

The reverse effect is observed in the countries, which are carrying out democratic modernisation. With the collapse of authoritarian regimes a mandatory 30 percent quota was cancelled, which entailed a sharp decrease of the level of women's political representation.

For the post-Soviet countries, in the opinion of the Russian researcher I. Sidorskaya, «there are only two of the basic fundamental problems related to women's political promotion - prevailing stereotypes of the majority of the voters and... increased aggressiveness to women - politicians on the part of their competitors - men » /130/.

This view is shared by the deputy of the State Duma Ye. Lakhova: «women have no any access to either of those centres of influence, on which the destiny of the country depends, or to those financial resources, which ensure promotion and position within the power bodies ... The transformation of the constitutional principles and norms into the norms of daily life is the main precondition for the implementation of women's movement basic tasks» /131/.

Among different reasons of political passivity of women, Russian political scientist N.Azhigikhina points out the fact that "ideas of the natural woman's mission", so popular nowadays among neoliberals - reformers, are taken as a convenient screen pretext for wide redistribution of the former public property in the interests of the rich minority... All the rights are violated in the name of two things - money and power. This is where one should look for the causes of radical discrimination of women in the countries with transition economy, for it is in these countries that the ideas of equality and social guarantees have been thrown away to the dump of the history » /132/.

The former Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the 13th convocation O.Abramova considers that «The various circumstances interfere with political representation of women». «Among them there is religion, mass mentality, and traditional stereotypes. However I would like to mention that there is potential preparedness on the part of society as a whole to allow women in politics. The Glass ceiling for women's activism is just the consequence of traditional distribution of roles in patriarchal societies ».

In the opinion of S. Buldekpaieva low motivation of women to participate political activity could be attributed to the fact that women consider the role of the mother and wife more attractive than that of a politician; women mainly support the orientation of their husbands at career to the detriment of own professional growth; women are more limited to their housework, to problems of the family survival; politics - «a dirty business », and women should not interfere in it; women

have no sufficient resources for waging political campaigns (for example, elections) and etc.» /133/.

In our opinion, basic "hurdles" of women's political activity, especially in transition countries are the following:

- Designing and introduction of political process regulators according to traditional "«masculine" type of political life imposing male's norms, values and rules;
- Immaturity of political culture of society, practical absence of legal knowledge, including constitutional rights of women's electorate;
- Imperfection of party system, absence of mechanisms of effective interaction between NGOs, including inside women's NGOs;
- Lack of special programs on women's political leadership;
- Activity orientation of women's parties, movements and NGOs mostly at tackling social and economic issues;
- Prevailing leading strings mentality and that of infantility in society.

According to Russian statistics of 2001 there are no women at all in the upper chamber of the Russian Parliament and in the Federation Council (178 members). Among the deputies of State Duma women make up only 7,6 % of the total MPs number (in the former Parliament (1995-1999) women made up 9 %). Within the system of executive power only one woman is the minister. In the system of a civil service 1,3% of women occupy high rank managerial posts and 9% - mid level positions. In the offices of Constitutional, Supreme, and Superior Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation only 14 % of women have managerial functions /134/.

In Ukraine, beginning with 1992, the proportion of political representation of the Ukrainian women in power bodies started reducing steadily in comparison with 36% of quota representation of women in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. Based on the outcome of elections to Supreme Rada of 1994 there were 12 women - deputies (or 3,6 % of the total number of deputies), which is by 10 times less than in the period prior to these elections. As a result of parliamentary elections (Supreme Rada) of 1998 women made 6,8 % of the total number of the deputies /135/.

In the Soviet Byelorussia the cancellation of quota has resulted in the fact that in the Parliament of the twelfth convocation there were only 13 women (about 3 %). At present there are 5 women (or 4,5 % of the total number of deputies) in the House of Representatives, 19 in the Council of the Republic (30,1 % from an aggregate number of the Council). The Council of Ministers includes only one woman - Minister of Social Security and 10 women –Deputy Ministers... About 20 women's organisations are visible on political arena of contemporary modern Byelorussia, which, basically, are focused on social sphere of life and on rendering assistance to the woman in the implementation of her social roles /136/. Percentage of women's participation in various Byelorussia parties varies from 20 up to 50, but at managerial level women make up 2 to 15 %. After the referendum of 1996 and changes in the governance the President of the country has introduced women into the Upper Chamber of quasi-parliament, which made up about one third of its members, having restored in this way the new Soviet standard of quota representation of women in various power bodies /137/.

The results of the carried out research confirm that women's political representation depends not so much on the economic development level of the state, but mainly on the prevailing societal values, norms and traditions that frequently turn out to be social - political constraints. So, both poor states (Bhutan and Ethiopia) and countries with significant economic development (Greece,

Kuwait, Republic Korea and Singapore) are among those countries where the level of women's representation in the parliament is the least (less than 5 percents).

The most accessible for the women is the local level of executive power and according to global statistics, the share of women in local representative bodies is much higher, than in national parliaments, and makes up about 25 percents in municipalities. However in Kazakhstan local representative power bodies – Maslikhats have no real authority. The main reason is power usurpation by executive bodies, illegibility of functions and status of Maslikhats, formal approval and implementation of local development plans. The only motivation for the woman to work in Maslikhats is the fact that these bodies are close to the family and to the direct decision of its problems. This is so because it is within the terms of reference of Maslikhats to approve of the plans, programs of economic and social development of the territory, local budget and reports on their implementation. Besides that they have to consider reports submitted by the Heads of local executive bodies on issues related by the law to the Maslikhat competence; to perform other responsibilities in line with the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the field of observance of the rights and lawful interests of the citizens and other questions. Gaining experience of management at a local level, undoubtedly, is a good school for women in terms of taking advantage of it at a later stage or at higher level, when the region or the state serves as a family model.

Proportional type of electoral system is effective for the increase of women's representation, which ensures the regulation of closed lists and coverage of large size districts.

Historical experience shows that the most effective is consultative non-confrontation policy, regulating questions of a political competition and resulting in productive decision of equity problems. The 21st century has opened up a new page in the history of development of civilisations. As a result of women's movement effective political activity gender paradigm has become the new global paradigm, which implies implementation of gender equality and elimination of gender barriers. Contemporary global order is impossible without real equal opportunities for women and men. The liquidation of gender disparity should create stimulating conditions for the development of human potential, both of men and women.

Social transformations should be directed making women active participants of the implementation of economic and political interests, as one-sided development process inevitably results in new foci of instability and gender conflicts.

Despite of the measures that Kazakhstan is undertaking in the field of gender policy, there is a number of factors interfering with the development of political consciousness, political will culture and women's representation, which along with specific features, is characteristic for the majority of the post-Soviet countries.

It is possible to group the factors hindering gender equity achievement into some blocks, according to their direction level:

3. National – regional – local:

- availability of sustainable traditional stereotypes as to the role and the place of a woman in society, including political decision making sphere;
- poor actualisation and awareness of gender issues that have principal and social-political and social-economic bases;
- imperfection of the national policy, methodology and mechanisms of its implementations;

2. State – civic:

- insufficient and that is why ineffective interaction between state administration bodies, women's NGOs and other civil society groups (for example, mass media, trade –unions, professional and business-associations);

- low efficiency of the activity of coalitions, mechanisms and groups lobbying women's interests;

3. Sector:

- Lack of gender related legislation;

- Statistic information shortcomings (national, regional and local);

- Lack of monitoring of gender indicators on the part of the government;

- Low status of public state structures, co-ordinating interaction between state administrative bodies and NGOs as well as those responsible for the development of actions and mechanisms necessary to ensure gender equity.

Recent expansion of access to the information on international activity of women has boosted integration of national women's movements with the international level and this resulted in the formation of new forms of regional and subregional co-operation of the countries, especially those with transition economies. National and interethnic partnership has got shaped.

However absence of the well-organised interaction mechanisms has resulted in poor co-ordination of actions and in the disagreement as to the importance of gender strategy.

In connection with this it is necessary to maximise the activity necessary to form balanced state policy and parity based democracy in Kazakhstan, specifically:

1. National level:

- To boost the activity aimed at raising the awareness of gender issues, which in its turn could reinforce the impact of public opinion on all the levels of policy development and decision making.

- To strengthen major directions of national policy, mechanisms of its implementation, specifically in terms of gender approaches introduction into contemporary political processes.

2. State - civic:

- To form and reinforce mechanisms of co-ordination and interaction between state administration bodies, HGO and other groups of civil society;

- To improve potential of different governmental and non-governmental organisations and civil society institutions responsible for gender equity achievement;

- To consider the possibility of projects based on the state social order for the activity of HGOs and public associations, rendering socially important services;

- To increase informational support to women's NGOs.

3. Sectoral:

- To develop mechanisms, necessary to improve gender related statistics with the use of adequate indexes, indicators, rates matching international norms and standards;

- To develop indicators of unified gender monitoring system;

- To develop mechanisms of gender expertise of Kazakhstani legislation and state programs;

- To create conditions for promotion and society education as to gender issues in order to raise the awareness and to lobby women related issues in society;

- To include gender issues into educational system at all the levels;

- To improve legal and financial status of national bodies that co-ordinate the sphere of gender relations;

- To introduce permanent system of gender expertise of national legislation, normative-legal documents and state programs;

- To carry out analysis of curricular and training materials to exclude sexist stereotypes;
- To approve of the draft Law on equal rights and responsibilities (which is in the Parliament at the moment) and introduce quota system as a temporary measure for transition society.

Besides that the necessity of additional measures in the field of gender equity promotion is confirmed by the survey data. Among basic political women rights the interviewees pointed out the following: «development of women's social movement (53,7% - women, 44,4% - men); wide involvement of women into different educational programs related to women rights (42 and 27,8); development and implementation of state programs on the involvement of women into politics (36,4 and 32,9); promotion and sharing successful international experience in the field of involvement of women into politics (31,2 and 26,5); support to political initiatives of women's organisations (26,4 and 26,9); regular coverage of women's political participation in mass media (22,7 and 24,8); functioning of a strong women's party (22,5 and 23,9); more active participation of women's electorate in election campaigns (18,5 and 19,7)» /138/.

Women's movement development, the activity of women's NGOs in Kazakhstan is at the initial stage. However it is possible to say even now that the level of their activity is far beyond the sphere of political marginalization. Though women's interests are not considered as priority ones in the field of national policy, public spirit and etc., nevertheless weaknesses specific for women's NGOs reflect general trends of the country political process.

In the opinion of Kazakhstani political scientist Dosym Satpayev, major problem of NGOs is in the fact that having gone through the stage of organised formation and having occupied a certain niche they do not have their own mechanisms that would help them to declare about their participation in the process of political decision making. Lack of such participation makes the idea of the "third sector" existence rather doubtful, because it is impossible to aggregate and to articulate social interests not having mechanisms of their protection /139/.

The opinion of the author of this paper is that establishing a dialogue between NGOs and power social lobbying could become an effective mechanism of interaction. In other words the "process of targeted leverage upon the institutes of political power on the part of NGOs and those social organisations, which express social but not public interests».

In summer-autumn 2001 the author carried out focus interview with the women – deputies of the parliament and Mazhilis of the Republic of Kazakhstan

According to the survey data all those interviewed were unanimous in their recognition of the multipolarity and vector difference of male and women interests in Kazakhstani society. What we have in mind here is that hierarchy of interests is different with men and women. This is confirmed by numerous western and national research attempts. Men give priority importance to business, trade, finances and their interests are topped by the national security. With women the hierarchy of interests is ranked in a different order of sequence, it starts with social protection of the population (not even with children!), next to it is health care, children, ecology and peace all over the world.

When asked about challenges on the way to elective bodies 6 women noted traditional and social barriers, explaining that the first group is based on the «...stereotype that the place of woman is her family, which she has to serve. Religious – any religion of the world leaves secondary role for a woman, the role of a dirty, sinful thing. Social- cultural – in any on the front page of any newspaper there are intelligent male faces the faces of men who deal with important national problems and on the back cover there may be, in the best cases, a woman with a bunch of flowers and an "empty" expression of the eyes. Moral – that mother is unworthy one, who leaves her baby and gets involved into politics. This "cutty" mother or "traditional barrier, where... a

man is the head, he must be, he will be is the reason why men are in the majority in power bodies».

When asked the question what gender stereotypes seem to be the biggest challenge for women's political goals, women participants of the survey underlined the view voiced out before on the cultivation of traditional values. Under which a woman is only a weaker sex but "tied up by different every day problems and affairs. So the lion share of her time she spends at work, in the office and at home, running the house. In comparison with men we are busier and are in a disadvantaged position". «It is easier for men because many women deal with these problems unquestioningly, and let the men politicise. Men who would let their wives go into politics are very few. In order to help a woman it is necessary to resolve social issues and then there will be more women in politics».

One woman that has successfully gone through the election campaign and became a member of the Parliament said that the basic gender stereotype is embodied in "traditions, family, children, husband because a woman is always loaded with household problems. A husband does not always understand it and helps her. A woman has to choose between her family, children and carrier".

Respondents named "activity and reputation, personal qualities and links; singleness and efficiency, interest and etc as the main reasons of a woman's successful political carrier". Special importance has been given to the support on the part of the family ("I have the chance to politicise only due to the support of my family, husband and children", other respondents specified that "some women get involved into politics not because they are concerned about community problems but in order to be in the power structures"). One woman that has worked for quite a number of years with executive power bodies before and was elected a member of the Parliament did not reject the fact of being backed up by the Akimat, though she called it a "moral" support.

Based on personal experience many interviewees mentioned lack of adequate informational support, twin nature of election programs, inadequate preparation, inconsistency between commitments and ideas put forward and real opportunities and needs as the most faulty thing in the election platforms. Among the reasons of inadequate support on the part of mass media women suggested "backroom instructions", shortage of financial resources for PR activity and stereotype nature.

When asked about any cases of improper behaviour on the part of their political male competitors the prevailing majority of women answered that that they haven't come across any cases of insult in the course of electioneering. One woman mentioned special role of men in her promotion: "men were more helpful about crucial things". It is worth while to quote one notable remark made by her: "Women are more difficult to contact with than men. You need to understand what women's solidarity is all about, you need to articulate it".

However a number of women noted unfriendly attitude on the part of their rivals, which found its expression in captious questions during the meetings with electorate.

Speculations as to the difference between male and women's political language seem to be of interest "little breath catching things, picturesqueness in order this platform could sound expressive and enjoy trust among electorate. Men speak simply, effectively and this causes confidence in what they do. Women use more gorgeous language". This reflects exactly what foreign experts think, the conclusions of their research. In their opinion "women use the language of sympathy. Their communication is characterised by mutuality. Women seek for confirmation and agreement. Some unpleasant things are not voiced out straight away. Men are

more characterised by one-way communication. Men are more natural in giving orders, teaching and declaring things than women are. Women use simpler and more specific language. Men prefer abstractions. Women try to identify people on whom it will be reflected. Men use objective expressions, do not look upon people as individuals. Women use emotional expressions more often than men and more often in comparison with men appeal to emotions /140/.

When asked about the difference between male and women's leadership style those asked pointed out to "stability", "tolerance, restraint, practicality", "discretion, muliebriety, absolute women's intuition, ability to tackle any problem".

When asked to name weaknesses about women - deputy's behaviour those interviewed avoided direct answer but mentioned that muliebriety, assessed from different points of view rather helps the process of election. On top of that former candidates have pointed out correct behaviour of women - competitors. Though there were some cases that prove the reverse. Some deputies said that it was very difficult for them to come to an agreement with women, specifically about delegating vote to each other, so that at least one of them could win at the next round.

The issue as to the necessity and prospects of quota system has been analysed among other things. As political scientists say women can achieve adequate representation level in all the legislative bodies, party structures only in case there are such mechanisms in place (for example, 30% according to successful experience in the countries of Northern Europe). At present this question is only under consideration in Kazakhstan and quotas are suggested to be used as a temporary measure until the time when women's political representation becomes high and sustainable. There is no unanimous opinion as to quotas. Some of those asked have negative attitude to them, viewing quotas as a discrimination instrument ("quota is insulting for women, there should be equal terms with men"; "they could be applied in the way of experiment. If it were due to quota that I've won I would probably feel different, but I have won the elections and I feel so confident and independent"). When asked where it would be better to introduce quota respondents answered that it was reasonable to introduce it for the party lists and for the seats in the Parliament or into the special Law on Equal Rights and Opportunities.

However women's participants of the survey have failed to come up with any specific measures that could improve the situation referring to generalised approaches in the field of gender politics. As to the question of electoral legislation improvement then the position of former candidates for election demonstrated very low preparedness.

The issue as to the prospects of Akim election system for women-politicians was considered as a way to improve gender problem and those interviewed answered that it was a necessary measure ("the possibility to elect Akims will help women in politics as this person, in order to justify electorate expectations, will undertake measures to improve social status of women, to create favourable conditions for self-actualisation and for creative potential "development", "will help and the reasons to that are different", "appointment of Akims by election is necessary because it imposes commitment to implement one's word, promise).

In the opinion of respondents the most successful political career could be achieved only in case there is an independent political association ("It should be important and should have real capacity for problem resolution"), though they were not always supportive of this point of view, considering that for a woman it would be better to stay with some large political party.

Women – participants of the survey also have come with the specific recommendations for the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organisation, political parties and trade unions to increase the share of women at the decision making level alongside with "the

promotion of women to some governmental, non-governmental and public structures”, suggested some general abstract decisions like “they have to be respected and put on the same level with men”, “we need to hear their ideas”, “we need to trust women more”.

A very important direction in the work of the focus groups was the discussion of effectiveness of special training for women striving for political activity. This was unanimously accepted by all the participants of the survey as the most important instrument in bringing up political representation, considering that among other things (“it is necessary to specially train women – activists political and electoral leadership. Such training is equally important for both sexes, but as far as women are concerned they are in need of special preliminary preparation”, specific, targeted staff work, involvement staff as a reserve, training, retraining”. “It is necessary to set up a system of social-political training for women like Soviet party schools”, “women should be taught ever since young ages only then this process will be more successful and fruitful”, “it is necessary to introduce a special subject into the school curriculum for the sake of political career”, “ever since school students should be taught active civic attitude showing that people can and must join politics”, “to work with women, to teach them, may be in some structures, public associations, political parties. Girls should be prepared for political career since their school, university. Only then they will be active”. “Education – is a continuous process. Women have to care of themselves”)

Respondents think that political recruitment of women should be started and should take place with the active support of mass media and Maslikhats. In other words options should be limited to sector level, which in fact, is not important in terms of improvement of conditions for political promotion of women.

When speaking about electoral behaviour the participants of the survey noted such differences between men and women as “emotionality”, “flexibility in achieving goal”, “more thoughtful and diplomatic approach”, activity, high responsibility, growing trust in male candidates and critical approach to women candidates.

The interview went as far as clarifying the reasons for polling against women – candidates: “mistrust”, “poor knowledge of women’s problems”, psychological reasons, “biased attitude”, traditional attitude (“people are not used to the thought that women are able to do more than men, this is a thousand year practice in the East and it needs to be changed”, “because women have got used to the situation when women have no power and the place of women is in the kitchen and every party should mind its own business”, (under Communism)” explaining that a “woman – candidate in contrast to a man – candidate should be ideal”. A man could be forgiven much: potation, concubines. A woman is not absolved from anything).

Though this survey has not yielded somewhat special results, different from similar surveys in other CIS countries, still it makes possible to draw general conclusion that the way for Kazakhstani women to the level of decision – making is complex enough and depends upon many external circumstances. Unfortunately none of the women participating in the survey has mentioned introduction of changes into electoral system of Kazakhstan as a mechanism to increase women’s political representation. It seems that this is due to the lack of knowledge in this field.

None of the interviewees touched upon the question as to the major types of representation and their peculiarities. It seems to us that this has been pointed out before, alongside with other factors suggested by women, which have certain political experience. The most effective way to decrease gender gaps in society and to achieve gender balance (or equity) is the system of

proportional representation (or mixed electoral system), since its principles increase political opportunities of women.

It is a well-known fact that electoral system in Kazakhstan is based on absolute majority system (with the possibility of the second ballot round). 67 seats in the Mazhilis are distributed according to majority system - based on the majority in a single mandate districts, 10 deputies are elected to the Parliament out of the party lists. Each voter ballots twice, one for the local representative and the second time – for the party list. Mazhilis elections take place on the basis of universal equal and direct suffrage under secret vote. Maslikhat elections are based on the same principal and deputy term is limited to four years. Election contribution, according to the election legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan is equal to hundredfold volume of the minimum salary. Electoral threshold is determined as 7 percent of the total number of votes of those that have taken part in the ballot. The term of the Mazhilis deputies is 5 years, those of Senate – 6 years. According to the current legislation part of the Senate deputies is to be re-elected every two years. Basic channels of election to the Senate are local representative bodies, which is a very common world practice. The formation of the Senate is done by way of indirect suffrage under secret ballot: two deputies from each oblast, city of the republican importance and the capital of the Republic. They are elected at the joint meeting of the deputies of all the representative bodies of corresponding administrative territories. The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan appoints seven Senators.

Presumably such an electoral system is the most effective for the implementation of social-political priorities of Kazakhstan. However, as it has already been mentioned there is a disproportional distribution of authority between the President and executive power on the one hand and representative authority on the other. At an early stage of independence the necessity to ensure national security and stability in time of growing political and social-economic conflicts demanded strong centralised control and get-tough policy. However, at present mechanisms and factors of political structure, established and fixed by the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan do not make it possible for the Parliament, limited in political responsibilities, to gain real political weight and take a key place within the structure of power interaction. Reinforced political importance of presidential and executive powers, immaturity of civil society, dispersed nature of public interests “make him a legislative department of the Government, whose status is strong enough to authorise legitimacy of these or those documents”. This fact underlines the “inability of the Parliament elicit its internal resources out of its status of a supreme representative body, performing legislative functions as well”/141/.

A number of experts think that current electoral system in Kazakhstan considerably limits electoral franchise of the citizen fixed by the Constitution of the RK, that is why it requires serious reorganisation based on the introduction of considerable amendments and additions into the current electoral legislation with the aim to match it with the international democratic and legal norms and principles. One of the examples of that is an open discussion in the mass media as to the increase of the number of seats for the deputies elected under party lists from 10 to 30. It is obvious also, that current electoral system does not contribute to the increase of women's representation, because small number of seats in the Parliament allocated for the parties, limit their opportunities in terms of entering women into the party lists. Besides that, when considering election gender aspects one should first of all have in mind provisions of the Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. In line with Article 7 of this Convention state parties are committed to provide women the same rights as the men to participate in political decision making at all the levels of state power. Article 4 of the

Convention clarifies what measures should be taken in case the country has some problems with the implementation of the provisions of Article 7 of the Convention. Article 4 recommends to take special temporary measures in case of necessity in order to facilitate the achievement of actual equality between men and women, which are not considered to be discriminatory against men in accordance with the Convention of 1979. Besides that, on top of the Law on Equal Rights and Opportunities, the principle of gender quotas could be introduced into the new Law on Elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan, which would ban persons of the same sex in the party list in the proportion exceeding, for example 60 percent of the total number of candidates, including those people that have been the first in the list.

In 2001 Kazakhstani non-governmental organisations with the support of OSCE and other international organisations developed their amendments into the electoral legislation and carried out campaigns in all the oblasts of the Republic aimed to collect signatures for the introduction of these amendments into the legislation. Introduction of the amendments would ensure fairer and just elections, the faults of which have been highlighted by the women – deputy candidates to the Parliament and Maslikhat in 1999.

In particular it is proposed to introduce twelve amendments that are aimed at the formation of independent electoral commissions: electoral commissions of all the levels are formed at the sessions of related Maslikhats at the proposal of political parties, public associations and local self-governance bodies. Personnel of executive power bodies shall not be members of electoral commissions at all the levels; personnel of one organisation or individuals that are in subordination shall not be appointed members of the electoral commissions at all the levels. Besides that amendments deal with the protection of the rights of observers, guarantees of the rights of electorate and candidates, responsibility for the violation of the electoral Law and other election related procedures /142/.

World practice shows that as rule women initiate laws dealing with the interests of family and women. For example US Congress women on top of many laws in the filed of health care and education have developed and passed such laws as: “Pure Congress” (1995), regulating the size of contributions during election campaigns and prohibiting presents for the members of country political offices; “Voter’s Choice”, which allows the states to pass over to proportional electoral system instead of the majoritarian one; “ Opportunities for Small Business Expansion”, which encourages small business development by way of providing grants and credits to poor people and obliging banks and related structures to open up special departments on small business promotion; “ On Fair Salary”, which bans discrimination in the field of wages on the bases of sex, race and origin /143/.

At the same time Kazakhstani deputies have not undertaken any attempt to initiate their own draft legislation during the entire period of country independence and Parliament functioning. It was only recently that deputy group “Otbasy” with the active support of the National Commission on Family and Women has developed two bills “On Equal Rights and Opportunities in the Republic of Kazakhstan” and “On Domestic Violence”. However, consideration and adoption of these laws are being unjustifiably delayed due to the necessity of social and international expertise of projects and other reasons. Lack of strong women’s lobby in the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan does not either improve the content or to promote these bills in a short time. In our opinion time requires faster and more decisive actions on the part of deputy groups and fractions targeted at development of laws in the filed of gender equity and at their practical implementation. A positive example could be “Cocus Women of the US

Congress” that has been rendering comprehensive support to electoral initiatives of the USA women’s organisations.

As it has been mentioned earlier, world practice shows that if more than 10 percent of seats in the legislative body belong to women the adoption of laws related to child protection becomes easier and provided that there is 20-30% of women’s representation in the Parliament there is a possibility of quicker and more effective implementation of programs reflecting women’s interests.

Considerable factor of political mobilisation is common identity, common political interests, political solidarity and in other words – group women’s consciousness. Voicing out political demands and implementation of unified group actions is a sufficient basis for effective interest lobbying. Lobbism in this case is an important instrument of political promotion of women’s political interests.

However national political practice shows that even those women who are deputies and have the possibility to lobby women’s interests, nevertheless do not do it, considering that gender issues belong to social sphere, so they merge them with motherhood, childhood, health care and education. When asked about representation of women’s interests in the Parliament the deputies answered that “women call for more attention to social sphere, to young people education”, “the documents are accepted as relevant to all the population categories, but in case of purely women’s issues (maternity care, childhood, motherhood and etc) obvious women’s lobbying is felt”, “they should not be purely women’s problems but problems of society on the whole: health care, education, culture, attitude to culture”.

The results of a number of surveys show that the activity of women’s organisations enjoys trust and support on the part of one third of the population. 35% of women and 24% of men think that in our country women’s NGOs seem to be promising, among them 5% and 3% correspondingly think that these prospects are big enough /144/. Interview has confirmed a good level of political influence of women’s organisations, regardless its multilevel assessment.

When asked about the consolidation of women’s NGO and its support in women’s political promotion those interviewed answered that “consolidation is possible and necessary and it may help women”, “it may contribute to their political career,” “it is present and it should help us to work persistently”. At the same time they underlined that “in reality there is no women’s NGO consolidation in Kazakhstan though some attempts towards consolidation are being made”, “it is in place to a certain extent, but there is no system. The policy of the Government towards women is clear, but there is no consolidation to promote this course”.

In the opinion of those interviewed basic tasks of women’s movement should be as follows: to teach women different roles, to involve mass media into the promotion of women’s activity in different spheres”, “to bring up a woman’s status, teaching community gender equity”, “union of like-minded people”, “raising the awareness of women”, “political education”, “teaching must begin from school, trying to develop active life position”.

Summarising it is possible to say that prevailing factors, which determine the possibility to increase women’s political representation, are:

- Legislation improvement, development of law with due regard to gender factor, carrying out gender expertise;
- Introduction of quota system – in the countries with unstable democracy it should be a temporary measure ;
- Shift in electoral system from single mandate majoritary representation towards proportional one.

The most disputable and complex issue, as it has already been mentioned, is the introduction of gender quota. “ As we’ve seen, the experience of former socialist block shows that quotas resulted in the fact that countries have failed to develop political culture, by means of which countries integrate into political system. There is a possibility of facing problems like seeking for adequate number of women that would like to be elected. Secondly, within the parties it is fraught with the loss of elective seats by men. However, the advantage of quota system is that it forces bodies responsible for nomination, especially political parties, to be involved into the active process of political staff selection. Doing this it also concentrates on real working conditions and political culture and in this way creates the possibility to make political participation more attractive for women. However, quota does not eliminate the necessity to combine work, family responsibilities and political activity, which is quite a serious problem for women ...” /145/.

Hence, in order to achieve gender equity in politics there is a need in other national measures, contributing to equal distribution of household responsibilities between a husband and a wife, to social sphere development, to bringing closer the salary size of men and women. The experience of Scandinavian countries could be useful here and Kazakhstani women study it actively enough, though men do not accept it seriously.

Radical transformation of political values and interests as well as mentality has taken place during the period of independence and civil society formation. This is proved by the outcomes of numerous interviews aimed to study women’s political activity and mechanisms able to improve women’s political representation in supreme power bodies and specifically:

- Women make special contribution into social life and they possess considerable resource potential to represent gender political interests;
- Without active political participation of women it is impossible to form civil society and parity based democracy in Kazakhstan;
- Protection and lobbying women rights, ensuring equal opportunities, elimination of discrimination against women are necessary in the interests of the entire society and the state as a whole, both at present and in future.

Political participation as a complex of targeted activities undertaken with the aim to express political solidarity, to influence state policy and promotion of political leaders – women implies the following:

1. Development of grass-root community social initiative and consciousness:

- Personal women’s activity development and organisation;
- Motivation of parties by women to determine the rules of candidate selection;
- Consolidation of women’s movement as well as reinforcement of interaction between successful and inexperienced women-politicians;
- Brining up professional-political level of women, which have to master electoral technologies in order to be able to hold election campaigns with electoral resources;

2. Raising the awareness as to the peculiarities of electoral systems, raising opportunities for women as political figures;

- Proportional systems help to increase women’s representation, especially with a big party size (big district size and that of electoral thresholds);
- Proportional systems are more preferable for a lengthy political fight.

It should be taken into account that the outcomes of gender political strategy of expansion women’s representation and establishment of parity based democracy depend on a complex of measures and change of electoral system is only its constituent part. Adoption of the law on

equal opportunities and general law development that would ensure the implementation of women's rights should become a priority. Considerable attention should be given to adequate financial support of candidates, the size of which may go down as a result of electoral law perfection.

Conclusion

In the Former socialist society women's participation in politics provided by official quotas supposed reproduction of traditional women's role and was connected with women's activity in the sphere of social defense. The problems of family, maternity and childhood were the major objects of political women's activity and women's aspiration to political career which was considered men's prerogative was not understood in the society.

During democratic reforms in transitive period quotas were eliminated and that practically canceled the women's possibility to enter the level of decisions adoption not only in "men's" spheres of occupation but even in "women's" – social. As a result of such policy of reforms in the New Independent States on the territory of all post-soviet space women were pushed into insignificant, auxiliary roles at all levels and branches of power.

At present low level of women's participation in politics in Kazakhstan is explained by the fact that they are less represented in electoral groups recruited into politics. As a rule, women-politicians came into that sphere from social branches (Medicare, healthcare, education, social defense, etc) and they have insignificant political experience comparing to men. Discrimination existing almost in all spheres of society is an obstacle for women's political activity and may be seen mostly in barriers (the so-called "glass-ceilings") on the way to key political posts in center and in remote districts.

The significant factor in this plan is unwillingness of electorate to vote for women. At present in Kazakhstan such factors as fragment women's activity in non-governmental public groups, movements and parties leading by women, the weakness of social electoral base and political support are due to low level of political culture and general passive attitude and this cannot but influence the radical changes in political sphere.

Just at the same time in a number of western countries during last two decades significant positive shift in women's situation occurred and the ideas of marginal political participation models are not applicable. The most successful (in gender aspect) region is Scandinavian where since the beginning of 1990-s women's Parliament members share was 30%; in Finland – 39%, Sweden – 44%.

Such results became the consequences of balanced gender politics foreseeing not only changes in women's status but transformation of attitude to the so-called "female" problem in the society and state. This states are under the process of crashing patriarchal state foundations, public and of course political basis and establishing new modern society forming favorable conditions for women's active participation.

The analysis of this phenomena is valuable from the point of view of "political possibilities" whose structures are the definition of development models, goals and results of feminist movement in every country. This experience is highly appreciated for Kazakhstan where low women's representativity in the highest legislative organ of the country (11,3%) and maslikhats (20%) demonstrate great gender problem for Kazakhstan society. Despite the fact that women comprise 51,8% in socio-demographic structure of republic's population (by the way their part

among specialists with secondary special education is 58% and with higher education – 55%) women are represented among highest political posts by minimal part (8,8%) /146/.

The decreasing of women's political representation in comparison to the soviet period leads to displacement of the so-called women's problems to marginal positions. Ann Phillips said, "... any system having excluded women's voices is not only unjust it cannot be even called representative" /147/.

Obvious scarcity of women at that level of decision adoption complicates difficult transition of the country to new economic relations. For example, the great potential of half country's populace is not used properly that reflects on decreasing the quality of social programs and in general decay in populace well-being.

"Some difficulties in the democratization process of sovereign Kazakhstan are explained ...by the lack of political, democratic formation of culture. Democratization of public life is simultaneously the process of changing mentality, stereotypes of the people's behavior which populace has during many years" /148/.

The analysis of world women's movement results made as an example in a number of countries allows working out several standard attitudes to the achieving of gender equality in society. In general all-sided study of other countries' experience is highly actual and necessary for development of domestic conception for stable social and economic development. The introduction of gender factors into working out and introducing into life social-economic programs let escape negative consequences, which are possible in case of ignoring the former.

Gender evolution is followed after as the examples of the countries where feminism appeared, developed and later on integrated into international women's movement headed by United Nations Organization. Due to effective activity of the presented international organization the UN members-states took the responsibility to overcome the existing discrimination towards women in their countries.

The stability and high living conditions of the USA and other European countries especially Scandinavian made them be a definite model of reaching the effective results, the sphere of gender relations is one of them. Of course, mechanical extrapolation is impossible without taking into consideration their own traditions and created by generation's values. However, as it was settled above the lack of domestic history in liberating women's movement be it negative or positive may bring greater use for foundation of selected way in Kazakhstan society development and all its members, women in their row.

Kazakhstan having joined in 1995 to Beijing declaration and Platform of actions adopted on VI World Conference on women's position and later in 1998 to Convention of canceling all forms of discrimination connected with women took responsibilities for fulfillment a number of obligations.

Having created in December 1999 the National plan on improving women's position in the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan confirmed its readiness to include women's interests in state policy.

Despite the fact that in Kazakhstan national conceptions and strategies in the sphere of increasing women status in the society are worked out and introduced into life, the adopted measures are not enough and it is not only the matter of finance for state programs. Hiding under national mentality and "oriental" traditions many political statesmen continue to support patriarchal public mentality that women objectively may not be occupied with politics. The present stereotypes are obstacles to introduction of democratic principles in possible equality for all

members of the society, they don't permit to estimate gender resources and possibilities in the changed reality.

The ignoring and oblivion of women's interests lead to negative socioeconomic consequences, reflected on the well-being of all populace and violated the demographic balance of the country up to this time and is prevailing in the policy of different state institutions and political parties platforms. This may be seen as in non-descript women's reputation in party lists as in unwillingness to allow women to occupy the key state posts.

Despite this the society itself is not ready to support a woman-politician and to take part in working out gender-oriented politics. The Parliamentary elections display the reluctance men-voters and women-voters to vote for women.

The second and not less important factor is insufficient attention of state to women-leaders and dislike to finance their political campaigns.

Not accidentally that almost everywhere women demand to decrease the registration fee of a candidate. It is a well-known fact that insufficient access of women to economic resources of the country is ignored and women are blamed for bad running of election campaigns but it is universally true that precisely this particular factor initially blocked women's initiatives on self-promotion to candidates.

This is confirmed by empirical investigations conducted at different times and in different countries. Several results of these investigations are presented in the research. These results according to our point of view may be applied to the conditions of our country. We think that the work out of special gender technologies of running the election campaign are absolutely necessary in order to expand women's representation on the level of decision adoption taking into account all factors of Kazakhstan reality.

Investigating the leading countries experience on conducting the policy of equal possibilities for men and women let us systematically study the idea of quota representation of women at the level of decision adoption.

The policy of gradual women's movement to the leading posts allows inserting politically perspective women to state posts. This will coincide with modern women requests oriented at professional career and aimed at realization their leader's ambitions bringing real use to society.

The research investigation supports requests of women from non-governmental organizations about 30% quota representation despite the fact that some of interrogated women are afraid concerning the possibility to get a stamp of "the second sort" human being. We consider that this measure at any conditions may help to equal the start positions of male and female. In theory and practice such measure is called compensatory or positive discrimination. Their necessity and legitimacy even in the form of temporary mechanism in political sphere are consolidated in UN acts and also by experience of western democracy development.

New reality demand specific governmental attitude to women-politicians, to complex socioeconomic problems, disintegration of society, marginal status of populace. As researchers marked in general women on ruling posts display interest to spheres which are ignored by men at power: protection of maternity and childhood, defense of abused victims, development of kindergartens, social payment, equality in labor payment for equal labor, access to credits, etc. Women possess necessary resources to make influence on forming the state policy, helping to promote patriotic feelings and adherence to state taking care of every citizen well-being.

The major conclusions and points of research paper may be taken into consideration practically in all spheres of gender equality attainments in Kazakhstan society. The results of sociological researches conducted by Council of intellectual labor women appeal: "Development of women's

political movement, wide involving of women into political organizations, appointing them into leading posts in political and governmental structures depends to the great extent upon state ideology because ... state developing political democracy must offer priorities to expansion of women's participation in politics... and it is necessary to work out and realize the state program on involving women into politics" /149/.

Despite this the recommendations are worked out for improving legal basis and state programs in the research. These recommendations directly influence the women's status in the society, their participation in working out and adoption of strategic state decisions.

In the result of the research the following conclusions were made:

1. At present the major form of women's political anticipation is the participation in women's non-governmental at local, national and international levels. Women's activity in public organizations helps to acquire the experience of political work and increase the level of general political culture. In Kazakhstan NPO are organizations of social direction and that permits to come to a conclusion that settling socioeconomic problems is major premise to transition for higher level of political rights and freedoms.
2. In countries with transitive economy women become the object of direct and hidden discrimination despite the fact that women's political participation in many spheres of public life may be more effective than usually applied traditional "men's" attitudes. For countries of post-soviet period two fundamental problems in women's political movement are characteristic: public stereotypes of major part of voters and increased aggression to women-politicians on the part of men-competitors. Consequently, women's discrimination is rooted in irrational prejudices and stereotypes. One of possible way out from this situation is reforming of legal status and changing sex directions in social consciousness.
3. Women's electoral behavior changes from men's. That occurs in gender breaks during the elections. Their presence implements significant influence not only at the election results but also directly into conducting the society policy. Gender problem acquires complex political expression due to peculiar behavior of women's electorate. Its specific feature represents significant interest for Kazakhstan society because under political competitiveness parties are forced to work out the most effective methods of electorate influence.
4. In connection with gender analysis political systems may be divided into balanced and unbalanced which in their turn are subdivided into real and nominative effective (or progressive).
5. Due to the fact that democratic institutions in Kazakhstan still do not have real power even sharp increase of women's representation in Government or Parliament and maslikhats will not secure the women with full power equal to men's. The problem of women's participation in politics should be settled using the possibilities of appointment of women to leading posts in the bodies of executive power. For realization of the gender equality principle in Kazakhstan the creation of real partners' conditions between men and women is necessary and plus the division of responsibility which would be a factor eliminating gender misbalance in public and private life. For speeding up of these processes it is necessary to introduce gender quota in the Law about equal rights and possibilities and also in election system of the Republic, World experience confirms that at definite conditions the proportional system of elections and the system of gender quota in party lists helps significantly to increase women's representation in political power bodies.
6. Women have the right to be represented in politics and they also have specific level of political sphere influence on society. But the differences between women and barriers to their equality make women's integration into political institutions be a complex task. Women's

political activity is limited by many thresholds at all levels of political improvement in this supposes overcoming not only structure-institutional spread on men but also gender caused barriers. Thus we come across not only doubled (in some cases multilateral) limitations for women's political career.

During the years past after IV World Conference on women's position (Beijing, 1995) the world changed qualitatively. New conditions force working out new attitudes of mankind survival. New threats to national security on the part of international terrorism, globalization processes, polluting of planet environment system put in front of Kazakhstan populace new demands. Under these conditions women's movement has great potential and is able to create conditions, which will allow women to participate in the destiny of state. Cardinal decision of women's problems and especially on the level of political representation would make a contribution to the development of strong democratic state, the preserving of peace and in general will lead to flourishing of Kazakhstan society.

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